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SOCIAL ENGLAND

ILLUSTRATED EDITION—VOL. II. SECTION I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE FIRST TO THE ABDICATION OF RICHARD THE SECOND.

PORTION OF AN ALTAR FRONTAL.

Embroidered in England in the latter half of the 14th Century.

(VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM).

SOCIAL ENGLAND

A Record of the Progress of the People

In Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature and Manners, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day

EDITED BY

H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

J. S. MANN, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME II. SECTION I

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM. 1274–1348.

	PAGE
The Three Edwards (*A. L. Smith*)	1
The Struggle for Wales, 613–1284 (*O. M. Edwards*)	16
The Church and the Crown (*C. Raymond Beazley*)	24
Legal Reform under Edward I. (*F. W. Maitland*)	43
The Art of War (*C. W. C. Oman*)	50
The Navy (*W. Laird Clowes*)	56
Architecture and Art (*Reginald Hughes*)	64
The Universities (*H. E. D. Blakiston*)	85
Science and Pseudo-Science (*Robert Steele*)	103
Medicine and Surgery (*Charles Creighton*)	116
Literature and the Religious Drama (*H. Frank Heath*)	123
Agriculture (*W. J. Corbett*)	131
Trade and Industry (*Hubert Hall*)	143
Public Health (*Charles Creighton*)	161
The Expulsion of the Jews (*Joseph Jacobs*)	162
Home Life in Medieval England (*D. J. Medley*)	164
Authorities	181

CHAPTER VI.

THE BLACK DEATH, AND AFTERWARDS. 1348–1399.

The Black Death (*Charles Creighton*)	184
The Agricultural Revolution (*W. J. Corbett*)	188

PAGE

THE POLITICAL CHANGES (*A. L. Smith*) 199
WYCLIFFE AND HIS WORK (*R. L. Poole*) 214
THE ART OF WAR (*C. W. C. Oman*). 234
THE NAVY (*W. Laird Clowes*) 248
ARCHITECTURE AND ART (*Reginald Hughes*) 262
LITERATURE AND THE DRAMA (*H. Frank Heath*) . . . 274
THE UNIVERSITIES (*H. E. D. Blakiston*) 315
PUBLIC HEALTH (*Charles Creighton*) 319
THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION (*W. J. Corbett*) . . . 323
INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE (*W. A. S. Hewins*) 335
TOWN LIFE (*C. R. L. Fletcher*) 343
WAYFARING LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES (*D. J. Medley*) . . 353
AUTHORITIES 378

LIST OF PLATES.

(Brief Notes on some of these will be found with those on the remaining Illustrations.)

PORTION OF AN ALTAR FRONTAL . . . *Frontispiece*
ST. GEORGE AND PLANTAGENET EARL OF LANCASTER *To face* 1
THE ARK AFLOAT . . . . . *To face* 72
AGRICULTURE, FROM THE LUTTRELL PSALTER . . *To face* 132
CAPTURE OF CALAIS . . . . . *To face* 246
THE LYNN CUP . . . . . *To face* 346

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

Volume II. Section I.

PAGE

PORTION OF AN ALTAR FRONTAL, EMBROIDERED IN ENGLAND . . . . . *Frontispiece*

This altar frontal consists of three pieces, each 2 feet 8⅓ inches in length and 10½ inches in breadth. They are of crimson velvet embroidered with coloured silks. The groups under Gothic canopies represent incidents in the life of the Virgin Mary: the Annunciation, the Salutation, the Nativity, the Announcement of the Nativity to the Shepherds, and the Three Kings going to Bethlehem with gifts.

ST. GEORGE AND PLANTAGENET EARL OF LANCASTER. Early Fourteenth Century 1

From a Book of Hours in the Douce Collection, doubtless made for the person depicted. The principal figure, once supposed to be Edward I., has since been conjectured to be Edmund Crouchback. But Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian (in a letter to the Editor), remarks that the armour suggests a slightly later period, while the coat of arms, though certainly Plantagenet, does not correspond with Edmund's; and he holds that the figure may represent one of Edmund Crouchback's sons, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, or Henry, who succeeded him; probably the former, who was patron of four monasteries, and the calendar favours the conjecture that the MS. was executed at Nostell Priory, of which he was advocate. The other figure is doubtless St. George.

CORONATION OF EDWARD I. 2

MS. Chetham 6712; the earliest existing MS. of the *Flores Historiarum*, and the ultimate source of all the rest. It is written in four hands, and traces of the hand of Matthew Paris are to be found in the part describing the events of the years 1241–1249. Luard, Introduction to the *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series).

SEAL OF EDWARD I. 5

He is described as "by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine."

SEAL OF EDWARD II. 9

The same as his father's, except for the two castles on the obverse, introduced in reference to his mother, Eleanor of Castile.

HEAD OF EDWARD II., GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL 10

From the effigy on the tomb, figured p. 71.

BERKELEY CASTLE: EXTERIOR OF BUILDING IN WHICH EDWARD II. WAS MURDERED 11

The little room above the steps, with square windows, is assigned by tradition as the place; it contains a bed said to be the king's. Others think the murder took place in the Dungeon Tower (next to this on the spectator's left), in a room underneath that which is lighted by the narrow window in the buttress. Underneath this is a dungeon twenty-six feet deep.

SEAL OF EDWARD III. 13

His sixth seal—1340–1372. He is described on his earlier seals as King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine; from

PAGE

1372 to 1800 the latter title gives place on the seals of English Sovereigns to that of "King of France."

THE EARLIEST REPRESENTATION OF A KNIGHT OF THE GARTER . 15

Alabaster monument of Sir William Fitzwarin (who died in 1361) in Wantage Church, Berkshire.

OFFA'S DYKE: NEAR OSWESTRY 17

This dyke, running from the mouth of the Taff, near Newport, to Prestatyn at the mouth of the Dee, included portions of the north-western part of Hereford and the western part of Shropshire in the Welsh area. Considerable remains of it still exist, especially in Shropshire, Montgomeryshire, and Denbighshire. Watt's Dyke, sometimes attributed to Harold, seems to have been an additional line of defence for the kingdom of Powysland (approximately the diocese of St. Asaph), which had been conquered from the Welsh. It runs generally two or three miles east of Offa's Dyke.

PICTON CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE 19

Built in the time of William Rufus by William de Picton, one of the followers of Arnulph de Montgomery; has been inhabited ever since by descendants of the founder, and has never been dismantled. Five miles east of Haverfordwest. Nicholas, *Annals of the County Families of Wales*, p. 834.

GRIFFITH'S ESCAPE FROM THE TOWER OF LONDON 21

Gruffyd, or Griffith, son of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, attempted to escape from the Tower, where he was confined by Henry III. in 1243, by making a rope of his bedclothes, but, "as he was very stout," he broke the rope and his neck. On the MS., *see* note on Vol. I., p. 634.

RHUDDLAN CASTLE 23

Founded in the tenth century as a Welsh stronghold, taken by the Norman Robert of Rhuddlan in 1098, and retaken by the Welsh in 1167. Recovered by the English, it was captured by Llewelyn ab Iorwerth in 1214, and rebuilt in 1277 after its capture by Edward I. It was held for Charles I., and dismantled in 1646.

A THIRTEENTH CENTURY BISHOP 25

For the MS. *see* on Vol. I., p. 688

EDWARD I. CONFIRMING THE CHARTER OF MARCH 8TH, 1300 . . 27

The MS. dates from the fourteenth century, and contains the Laws of England from Ine to Edward III. The accompanying text speaks of "the great Charter of King Henry our father, sometime King of England."

TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL . . 31

In the North-west transept. Peckham died in 1292.

AN ECCLESIASTICAL COURT 34

From an Italian MS. of Gratian of the fourteenth century. The bishop is judge; on either side are suitors, below are scribes.

A DEFENDER OF THE FAITH 36

A knight in thirteenth century armour, carved in stone, outside St. Robert's chapel, Knaresborough. Tradition connects him with

PAGE

the Templars. The story, as told by Camden in his *Britannia*, is that D'Estoreville, the lord of the Castle, having oppressed the hermit St. Robert (whose hermitage still exists not far off), a knight in armour appeared to him in a dream and challenged him to a duel. St. Robert died in 1216.

TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON 37

The original Round Church, built on the model of the Holy Sepulchere at Jerusalem, was completed in 1185, the choir added in 1240. The whole was restored—not conservatively—in 1839–42. The Templars' estate, on the suppression of the Order, was granted by the king to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, on whose death it passed to the Hospitallers of St. John, who leased it to the students of common law in 1346. For some centuries it was subjected to a tax, but in 1609 was declared by royal decree the free hereditary property of the Corporations of the Middle and Inner Temple. The church is common to both.

MONKS HUNTING AND HAWKING 39

From a kind of cyclopædia of Church teaching, in two volumes, compiled by one Jacob, probably a Benedictine monk. This illustration is appended to the article on "Abuses."

UNDUE INFLUENCE 39

From same MS.; illustrates the article on "Fratres Mendicantes" (begging friars). The lady appears to be giving title-deeds of property to the friar. The author is most unfavourable to the friars, and declares that they do not keep their vows of poverty.

EFFIGY OF BISHOP STAPLEDON, EXETER CATHEDRAL 41

Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter and founder of Exeter College, Oxford, was murdered by the populace of London in 1326, as an adherent of Edward II. The canopy is restored in part.

LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL 42

The choir and nave probably date from before 1250, the west front before 1270. It is still a parish church as well as a cathedral. It has been well restored.

A CHIEF JUSTICE IN EDWARD I.'S REIGN 46

From an ancient stained glass window on the north side of Long Melford Church, Suffolk, containing the figures of William Haward [Howard], Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Edward I.'s reign, John Haugh, Judge of the same Court in 1487, and Richard Pycot [Piggot], admitted Serjeant-at-law 1464. Haward is here figured, Pycot and Haugh will be found at page 649. This glass seems to have been given by one of the Clopton family, to whose ancestors the personages in question were related, and whose monuments are also in the church. They are figured in Dugdale, *Origines Juris*, and in Pulling, *Order of the Coif*, as illustrating the dress of a serjeant-at-law. The illustration is from a photograph taken by the kind permission of the Rev. Sir W. Hyde Parker, of Long Melford, from drawings in his possession.

A CHIEF JUSTICE UNDER EDWARD III. 47

The tomb of John de Stonore, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who died in 1354; Dorchester Church, Oxfordshire.

AN ADVOCATE; JUDGES; TAKING THE OATH 49

For this and the next two illustrations *see* above, note on p. 39.

PAGE

They illustrate Jacob's articles on "Judgment" "Advocates," and "Oaths" respectively. The writer discusses the question whether an advocate may take a fee for his services, and decides that he may do so if the cause be just.

WARFARE AND WEAPONS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY . . . 53

MS. Royal 20 D. i. is a Universal History executed in the South of France early in the fourteenth century, in Italian style, but depicting the type of armour usual in England some thirty years later; MS. Add. 10,293 is a Romance of the Holy Grail, French, early fourteenth century; MS. Royal 16 G. vi. is the Chronicle of St. Denis, also French; it belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and contains his autograph; MS. Add. 23,145 is a French Book of Hours executed at the end of the fourteenth century.

AN ENGLISH KNIGHT OF 1302 54

Brass of Sir Robert de Bures, of Acton, Suffolk. The feet of the figure rested on a lion, of which only the tail remains.

AN ENGLISH KNIGHT OF 1325 55

Brass of Sir John de Creke. Westley Waterless, Cambridgeshire, the earliest showing the beginning of plate armour.

SINGLE COMBAT, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY 57

Representing primarily the combat of Æneas and Turnus (Virgil, *Æneid*, xii.).

SEA FIGHTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY 61, 63

WINDOW WITH FLOWING TRACERY, STOKE GOLDING CHURCH . . 64

This and the following four illustrations are sufficiently explained in the text.

WINDOW WITH GEOMETRICAL TRACERY, ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL 65

WINDOWS WITH BALL-FLOWER ORNAMENT, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL . 67

THE JESSE WINDOW, DORCHESTER CHURCH, OXON. 69

Dating from the reign of Edward III.

TOMB OF EDWARD II., GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL 71

THE ARK AFLOAT (from Queen Mary's Psalter) . . . *To face* 72

The statement in the text is not, of course, intended to apply to paintings in MSS., but to frescoes and similar work. For the MS. *see* note on Vol. I., p. 543.

PAINTED WINDOW IN "BECKET'S CROWN," CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. 74

The twelve windows in the Trinity Chapel were originally filled with stained glass, representing the miracles of St. Thomas Becket, dating from between the years 1220 and 1240. They were almost destroyed by the Puritans in 1642, and remains of the glass were eventually replaced as far as possible in the original position by the late Mr. George Austen, subsequently to 1853. In this window (the fifth) almost the whole of the glass shown is ancient. In the highest division, the saint, emerging from the shrine, appears to Benedict, who is on a couch beneath; in the second, a man with a diseased leg is seated; one attendant washes it, others bring a bowl

PAGE

and a towel; the inscription, restored in part conjecturally, seems to refer to the combined effect on the injury of prayer, bloodletting, and medicine. In the third, a woman with her leg bare is about to kneel at the tomb. The inscription, conjecturally restored, is of the same tenor as the preceding. In the fourth, a man half dressed is receiving clothes from another, conjectured to be Godwin of Boxgrove, who gave away his clothes to set an example of voluntary poverty. *Cf. Notes on the Painted Glass in Canterbury Cathedral*, with a Preface by Dean Farrar. The illustration is from a photograph taken by the Rev. T. Field, D.D., Warden of Radley College.

PAGE FROM THE ORMESBY PSALTER 75

MS. Douce 366; written about 1350, probably at Norwich.

STOKESAY MANOR HOUSE, SHROPSHIRE 76

A thirteenth century manor house, but with a tower dating from 1091, and an Elizabethan gateway. Near Craven Arms.

HARLECH CASTLE 78

Built under Edward I. between 1280 and 1310, on the site of a Welsh stronghold; seized by Owen Glendower in 1404; retaken by the English in 1408. Margaret of Anjou was besieged in it during the Wars of the Roses in 1468. It was held for King Charles I., but taken by the Parliamentary forces in 1647.

ENGLISH CASTLES IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY 79

Caerphilly Castle, seven miles from Cardiff, was rebuilt (after its destruction by Rhys Vychan) in 1221 and again, in its present form, in 1271. It is described by Mr. Oman (*History of the Art of War, Middle Ages*, p. 539) as "an absolutely complete example of the concentric style of fortification," copied by the Western nations from the Byzantine models which they learnt to know during the Crusades. It stood on a mound of gravel in an artificial lake, which formed part of the middle and outer lines of defence, while the approaches were protected by separate works, making up, with the lake, the outer ward. Chepstow has a Norman keep, with considerable exterior additions of a later date. It was twice taken by the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War. Conway was built about 1284 by the architect of Carnarvon Castle; but, from the shape of its site, the steep end of a promontory, the concentric system could not be adopted, and the wards are one behind the other, all facing the one direction from which attack was likely (Oman, *op. cit.*, p. 542). The modern road and railway have spoilt the strategic aspect of the fortifications, making them look accessible in the rear.

CARNARVON CASTLE 81

COINS OF EDWARD III. (*see* the text) 83, 85

SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD 87

The first seal, dating from the thirteenth century, representing the Chancellor presiding over a disputation.

THE MOB QUAD, MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD 91

This quadrangle has retained substantially its present appearance for five hundred years (Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College*). The North and East sides were probably built about 1310, the South and West sides in the next generation. The North and West sides are here shown.

PAGE

TOMB OF WALTER DE MERTON, ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL . . . 93

Walter de Merton was drowned in 1277, while crossing the Medway. The tomb was almost destroyed at the Reformation, and restored by Merton College in 1598. It was again destroyed during the Civil Wars, and restored in 1662, 1770, and 1849. Rye, *Collections for a History of Rochester*, a printed volume with additional matter inserted, preserved in the British Museum.

THE FOUNDER'S HORN, QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD 95

Fourteenth century; said to have been presented to the College by Queen Philippa, whose chaplain, Robert de Eglesfield, was its founder; 19½ inches high; the buffalo-horn is 25 inches long. The cover is of later work than the bands. Cripps, *Old English Plate*, p. 297.

SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS CANTILUPE, HEREFORD CATHEDRAL . . 97

The figures in the niches are Knights Templars in chain armour. Bishop Cantilupe died in 1282; his bones were translated to this place in 1286, and he was canonised in 1320, being the last Englishman to receive this honour.

PSALTER IN LATIN AND GREEK, FROM RAMSEY ABBEY 101

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The Greek is written in Latin characters. The page shows Psalm lxxvi.

THE HIERARCHY OF THE SCIENCES, AS CONCEIVED BY MEDIÆVAL THOUGHT 105

From a French MS. of Bible history, executed for John, Duke of Berri, about 1290. Above the vault of heaven, which is composed of concentric spheres, are the Trinity, the Virgin and Child, and angels. On the right and left of the Throne respectively, St. Peter, with Papal crown and key of the Kingdom of Heaven, and St. Paul, with sword; beyond St. Peter, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory; beyond St. Paul, St. Augustine and St. Ambrose. In the vault of heaven is a door guarded by angels, with the inscription Charitas, Fides, Spes (Charity, Faith, Hope). Below the vault, the Virgin, crowned, holding a writing in Latin verse, apparently meant for iambics, of obscure significance but describing the glories of the study of astronomy. On each side of this are two rows, each of six figures, representing the sciences and arts. Beginning from the spectator's left, the order is — Avicenna, Socrates, Plato "the Metaphysician," Aristotle "the Peripatetic," Averroes "the Spaniard," Seneca "the Moralist." Below, Priscian, Cicero ("Tulius") "Dyaletica" (*i.e.* Dialectic, Logic), Pythagoras "the Musician," Archimedes ("Archimenides"), and Ptolemy. Below these, Arithmetic, with a scroll intimating that all sciences and arts are based on calculation and number. At the corners, the four Evangelists; at the bottom, a hunting scene. Size, 16½ inches by 11½ inches. The inscriptions are not wholly decipherable, but the design, apart from its great beauty, is interesting as an illustration of the strict subordination of mediæval science to theology.

FIGURE OF THE PLANET MARS 107

With the Signs of the Zodiac, Aries and Scorpio.

FIGURE OF THE PLANET MERCURY 109

With the signs Pisces and Sagittarius. These two illustrations are from a MS. of 1405 (R. 15, 21) at Trinity College, Cambridge.

THE DANGERS OF ASTRONOMY 110

From the Encyclopædia of Church Teaching noticed on p. 39. The

PAGE

accompanying article begins by stating that it is unlawful to consider what star was in the ascendant, or what was the altitude of the moon, at the birth of any person. Ordinarily churchmen were less strict (*see* the text).

THE PHLEBOTOMIST'S GUIDE 111

Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. R. 15, 21). The figures are, of course, the signs of the Zodiac, indicating the months in which a given part of the body may be bled.

THE ERRING PRIEST, THE SORCERER, AND THE FIEND 114

A SUCCESS FOR THE BLACK ART. (For MS., *cf.* note on Vol. I., p. 407.) 115

These two illustrations represent incidents in the life of Theophilus the Penitent, Church treasurer at Adana, in Cilicia, about 550 A.D., whose life, originally written in Greek from his own narrative by his disciple Eutychianus, will be found in Latin in the *Acta Sanctorum* under February 4th. Deprived unjustly of his office, Theophilus, in despair, betook himself to a Jewish sorcerer, who led him by night to the outskirts of the city, where he was presented to the Evil One, enthroned in state. On his abjuring Christ and the Virgin, and handing the Prince of Darkness a deed written in his blood and sealed with his seal, the latter promised to help him. Next day, the Bishop knelt before Theophilus and begged his pardon; he was restored to all his offices, and for a time all went well. But, reflecting on what he had done, he could not rest, and at length fasted for forty days and prayed to the Virgin to aid him. At last she appeared to him in his sleep, upbraided him for his sin, but promised to help him, and appeared again, bearing the deed, which he found when he woke. Thereupon, he confessed all, and died. The story is told by Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*. It was astonishingly popular, and a number of versions in Latin verse, Icelandic, Low German, and other languages have been collected by G. W. Dasent (London, 1845). He states that it is represented twice in Notre Dame, on a window in Laon Cathedral (with some incidents not in any known version), and elsewhere. In the first illustration Theophilus is handing the deed to the Evil One; in the second, the sorcerer (who, according to Eutychianus, did not fail to draw Theophilus's attention to his own services) is apparently commenting on the number and splendour of the vestments which Theophilus has recovered the right to wear.

A PAGE FROM A HERBARY 117

MS. Harl. 1585; a medical treatise written late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century.

A PHYSICIAN CONJURING THE VEGETABLE WORLD 118

Same MS. The form of incantation, which is given in the MS. below the figure, is an appeal to all herbs, whom their parent the earth has given to all nations as a way to health and an aid to mankind. A physician making a similar appeal to the earth is represented on an earlier page of the MS.

AN OPERATION 119

SURGEON OPERATING ON THE SKULL 119

EXTRACTING AN ARROWHEAD 120

These three illustrations are from an Anglo-Norman MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, known as O. i. 20, of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

PAGE

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS 121

The MS. (*see* note to page 39) condemns Christian intercourse with Jews for medical aid or otherwise.

JOHN ARDERN 123

MS. Sloane 2002, fifteenth century (as shown by the costume); in the attitude of operating. It is just possible that the portrait may be traditional.

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER ON THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM . . . 125

The passage is printed in Aldis Wright's edition of the *Chronicle* (Rolls Series), II., p. 765, lines 11,746 *seq.*

A LESSON FROM JOB, BY RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE . . . 126

Job "on the dunghill" (A.V. "the ashes," Job ii. 8). Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 322 (Madan's Summary Catalogue, 21,896). A fifteenth century MS., chiefly of Rolle's works.

AUTOGRAPH MS. OF THE AYENBYTE OF INWYT 127

By Dan Michel (*see* text). The page shown contains various short prayers in verse and exhibits what must be a very early use of a library "pressmark."

AN EASTER SEPULCHRE, HECKINGTON, LINCOLNSHIRE 129

In the Middle Ages it was the custom in England (as now in Italy) to represent at religious festivals the events they commemorate; *e.g.* an image of the stable at Bethlehem would be erected in the parish church at Christmas, and one of the Crucifixion or the Sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea for Good Friday. Usually these representations were temporary structures; the customary sites of some are known (*e.g.* in Norwich Cathedral) and bills for making them still exist; but sometimes, as in the present illustration, they were permanent. A crucifix was deposited in the tomb on Good Friday, and taken out on Easter Day, with appropriate ritual. The stone carving represented shows—above, Christ risen; below, on each side of the empty tomb, the incidents of the Resurrection described in the Gospels; underneath, the soldiers asleep. From such simple dramatisations as were effected with the aid of these accessories the religious drama arose, just as the Greek drama had arisen two thousand years earlier. (*Cf.* A. W. Pollard, *Miracle Plays.*) Another, but less elaborate sepulchre, existing at Northwold, Norfolk, is figured with this one in *Archæologia*, Vol. XLII.

AGRICULTURE, FROM THE LUTTRELL PSALTER . . . . *to face* 132

A WATERMILL (Luttrell Psalter) 133

The eel-traps are of precisely the type still in use on the Thames.

A COMMON FIELD SHOWING DIVISION BY BALKS 135

The long green banks which formerly divided the strips of the different commoners in a common field still exist in the north and north-east portion of the parish of Stogursey (Stoke Courcy), Somerset, near the Bristol Channel and about ten miles from Watchet. Several of the fields belong to the manors of Shirton (probably the Siredestone of Domesday Book) and Knighton. The divisions are locally called "landshire banks," and the land between them "raps," but they are exactly like the "balks" found in the Eastern counties, and, like them, have often the serpentine shape due to the plough. The different strips belonging to one owner are usually scattered, *e.g.* in one field there are three, of which the inner one belongs

PAGE

to a charity at Stogursey, the two outer ones to a neighbouring farm Hedges occur between different sets of banks, but generally parallel to one or other set, probably following the line of some former bank. The banks are carefully preserved, and may not be ploughed up even where several adjacent strips are held by the same owner. According to R. E. Prothero, *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, p. 7, the common cultivation seems to have been still carried on in 1879, but according to the two-field, not the three-field, system of farming (*see* our text, p. 136). For the photograph and description the Editor is indebted to Miss E. M. Leonard.

GLEANERS AND REAPERS 137

Queen Mary's Psalter (*see* note to Vol. I., p. 543), primarily representing Ruth and Boaz.

THRESHING 138

FEEDING PIGS; KILLING A PIG; SOWING 139

From a Psalter of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, illustrated by Norman artists. The sower illustrates the occupation proper to September.

THE GOOSE-HERD 140

WOMEN WEEDING THE CORN 141

CUSTOMS SEAL, PROBABLY OF EDWARD II. 145

The inscription contains the name of York, and the word CUSTUME.

TREADING GRAPES 149

See above, note on p. 139.

THE TOL-HOUSE, GREAT YARMOUTH 151

Probably erected originally in the thirteenth century as the town hall of Yarmouth; subsequently a prison and the scene of the labours of Sarah Martin, one of Mrs. Fry's followers in modern prison visiting, *c.* 1819–1832; now a Free Library.

FOLDING CLOTH; CUTTING CLOTH 154

Carvings (from a destroyed church ?) in the Archæological Museum, Cambridge; fourteenth century.

THE ETHELBERT GATE, NORWICH 157

Built about 1274, at the cost of the citizens of Norwich, as part of the reparation they were required to make for attacking and plundering the monastery during a quarrel in 1272 as to their rights over Tombland, a cemetery (then disused) just outside the gate, and still preserving its ancient name. The upper part, which was reconstructed early in the nineteenth century, replaces a chapel of St. Ethelbert, King of East Anglia, who was killed near Hereford by command of Offa of Mercia, and whose shrine existed in Hereford Cathedral.

A THIRTEENTH CENTURY DRAWING OF LONDON 159

On the lower margin of a page of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain.*

MASON PREPARING STONE 160

See above, note on p. 154.

PAGE

A Disestablished Usurer 163

A Jew whose occupation has been destroyed by Edward I.'s prohibition of usury. Above, "The gains of usury are forbidden to the Jews." A drawing on the margin of the Rochester Chronicle.

Making Tapestry 166

From a Flemish MS. of the fifteenth century. The loom resembles the model presented by William Morris to the South Kensington Museum.

The Hall, Penshurst Place, Kent 167

The Place, now the seat of Lord de l'Isle and Dudley, belonged in the reign of Edward I. to Sir Stephen de Pentchester, and, after several changes of ownership, passed, in Edward VI.'s reign, to the Sidney family, who numbered among them Sir Philip Sidney, the Elizabethan hero, and Algernon Sidney, who was beheaded in 1683. The hall retains its original open timber roof, through louvres in which the smoke escaped, and the original tables of oak. It dates from the fourteenth century.

Snaring Birds (Queen Mary's Psalter; *see* on Vol. I., p. 543) . . 169

Catching a Hare; Fishing; Hunting Deer (Queen Mary's Psalter) 171

Roasting; Preparing Dinner; Dishing up; at Table . . . 173

An Interior 174

Bakehouse 175

The two latter illustrations are from a French MS., a Book of Hours of the latter half of the fifteenth century, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Berkeley Castle Chapel 176

Boys' School 178

See ante, note on p. 39, for this and the following illustration.

Birching a Boy 179

Wrestling; to be Followed by Cock Shooting (Queen Mary's Psalter) 183

Page from a Treatise on the Plague 187

From a fifteenth century abstract of an English version (made about 1400) of the treatise on the plague by Jean de Bourgogne, who gives his own date, 1365, and says he had studied the plague for forty years.

The Black Death: a Contemporary Inscription 189

Ashwell Church, Herts. The inscription is interpreted by Mr. H. F. Wilson (*Reports and Communications to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, Vol. VI., p. 16, 1887) as referring to the plague of 1348–9 and of 1361. The first part is in leonine hexameters:

M C ter X penta miseranda ferox violenta
Discessit pestis: superat plebs pessima testis. MCCCL.

(*i.e.* In 1350 [1000 + (100 × 3) + (10 × 5)] the deplorable, fierce, raging pestilence departed: the dregs of the people survive to tell the tale.) The second part is in prose, ending in a scrap of verse:

In fine ij (sc. secundae pestis) ventus validus . . . Maurus in urbe tonat. (At the end of the second visitation of the plague there was a mighty wind. Maurice thunders in the city.)

PAGE

Hardyng's Chronicle, after mentioning the plague in 1361, says:

"In that same year was on Saint Maurys Day
The grete wind and earthquake mervelous."

Mr. Wilson ascribes the inscription to the parish priest of Ashwell. Most of these at that time seem to have been monks of Westminster, and the Abbot and twenty-six of the brethren died of the plague. A slightly different and less satisfactory explanation will be found in Cussans, *History of Herefordshire*.

A Cry from Plague-stricken Ireland 193

This inscription, the translation of which (printed underneath it) is that given by Dr. O'Donovan in the introduction to the *Senchus Mor*, the great collection of ancient Irish laws, attributed to St. Patrick and eight other authors, about the year 460, gives vivid idea of the impression produced in Ireland by the Black Death. This is even more vividly presented by the conclusion of another contemporary account, that of the friar of Kilkenny (John Clyn), mentioned in the text (p. 185). Writing as one "among the dead and waiting for death," he says that he has left parchment for the continuation of his annals, "if any of the human race survive." He seems to have lived, however, till 1349. Hugh MacEagan's prayer was answered, for the *Annals of the Four Masters* mention his death in 1359, and describe him as "the choicest of all the Brehons of Ireland" (*cf.* Introduction to the edition of the *Senchus Mor*, brought out by the Commissioners for Publishing the Ancient Laws of Ireland, Vol. I., p. 34).

Ordinance Preparatory to the Statute of Labourers . . . 197

The full text is in the *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. I., p. 307.

Seal of Edward II. for Customs on Wool and Hides . . . 201

Ascribed to his reign in Birch, *Index of Seals in the British Museum*. The inscription mentions Lincoln.

Wife and Daughter of Edward III. Edward III. and St. George 204

From reproductions of fresco paintings found in 1800 behind panelling in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (used as the House of Commons and burnt down in 1834). Copies were taken and the pictures walled up again. There are also figures of Edward III.'s sons and daughters, of whom Isabella alone is shown here. The inclusion of Edward's youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock, born 1355, shows that the painting was later than that date. The figures were directed to the high altar, and scenes from the early chapters of St. Matthew were represented above them.

Page of a Bible belonging to King John of France . . . 205

The first chapter of the Proverbs ("paraboles") of Solomon.

Tomb of the Black Prince, Canterbury Cathedral . . . 207

"There he lies, as he had directed, in full armour, his head resting on his helmet, his feet with the likeness of 'the spurs he won' at Cressy, his hands joined as in that last prayer which he had offered up on his deathbed. There you can see his fine face, with the Plantagenet features, the flat cheeks, and the well-chiselled nose, to be traced, perhaps, in the effigy of his father in Westminster Abbey, and his grandfather in Gloucester Cathedral. . . High above are suspended the brazen gauntlets, the helmet, with what was once its gilded leopard-crest, and the wooden shield; the velvet coat also, embroidered with the arms of France and England, now tattered and colourless, but then blazing with blue and scarlet.

PAGE

There, too, still hangs the empty scabbard of the sword, wielded perchance at his three great battles, and which Oliver Cromwell, it is said, carried away." Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 120.

TOMB OF EDWARD III., WESTMINSTER ABBEY 209

The statue "shows great care in the portraiture. . . The face is long, and there is a remarkable fall in the lower lip; the hair is also, doubtless, represented as worn by the king: it is long and slightly curling, and the beard is ample and flowing. . . . Among the careful details it will be observed that the shoes are what are now termed 'rights and lefts.'" Westmacott, quoted in Thornbury, *Old and New London*, Vol. III., p. 441.

RICHARD II. PRESENTED TO THE VIRGIN 211

A diptych at Wilton House, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke; each half is 21 in. high by 16½ in. wide. The stag seen on the angels to the right is part of the king's arms. On the right, the king in profile, his mantle embroidered with stags; the three saints are St. John the Baptist, Edward the Confessor, with the ring, and St. Edmund, king and martyr, with the arrow. It was probably painted soon after the accession of Richard II. by an Italian artist. *See* Waagen, *Treasures of Art in England*, I., 150.

RADCOT BRIDGE, NEAR WITNEY, OXFORDSHIRE 213

The date of the bridge is uncertain; the battle took place on December 20th, 1387.

MEETING OF HENRY OF LANCASTER AND RICHARD II. 215

The drawings by an English artist illustrate a history of Richard of England, composed in French by a French gentleman in the king's service. The meeting took place at Flint, after Richard, hemmed in at Conway Castle, had resigned the crown to the delegates sent by Henry. According to the account given in the MS., the Duke had entered the castle armed in all points except his bascinet; Richard is in his monk's disguise and wears a cowl. "I am come," said Henry, "before my time; the common report of your people is that you have governed them very ill and very rigorously for twenty years, and that they are not well content; but, please Our Lord, I will now help you govern better." Richard replied, "If it pleases you, it pleases me well."

DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II. (same MS.) 215

THE PAPAL PALACE, AVIGNON 219

The fortress-like character of the building is specially noteworthy. It is described as one of the most perfect specimens in existence of thirteenth century military architecture, and was built between 1336 and 1364. Froissart calls it "la plus belle et la plus forte maison du monde." *See* Hare, *South Eastern France*, p. 362.

FIGURES ABOVE THE DOOR OF LUTTERWORTH CHURCH 225

Part of a fourteenth century design representing "Les Trois Morts et les Trois Vifs" (three kings and three skeletons). The other half has perished. Traditionally the figures are identified with Richard II., his queen, and John of Gaunt.

MEMORIALS OF WYCLIFFE AT LUTTERWORTH CHURCH 227

The cope, worn by the Reformer, is said to have been formerly used as an altar-cloth.

PAGE

MINIATURE FROM A WYCLIFFE BIBLE 231

A "tree of Jesse," showing the genealogy of Our Lord. The grotesques at bottom are a curious contrast with the ideas of congruity entertained by the Protestants of later date.

A KNIGHT OF 1347 236

Brass of an unknown knight at Wimbish, Essex.

A KNIGHT OF 1365 237

Brass of Sir John de Cobham, of Cobham, Kent. These are typical examples of the third and fourth of the groups illustrating the progress of armour enumerated by Mr. S. W. Addington in the introduction to Vol. B of his splendid collection (*see* Vol. I., note to illustrations, p. 687). The Trumpington and Stoke d'Abernoun brasses (Vol. I. of this book, p. 687) represent the first, the De Bures (Vol. II., p. 55) the second. In the Wimbish example, he notices that the cyclas has given way to the jupon, a sleeveless garment fitting closely round the body, with a loose shirt; with this are worn the cammail, the hauberk, and the haketon. Genouillères, or kneeplates, occur in both examples. The Cobham brass exhibits "a curious variety of defensive equipment," composed of round plates of steel, riveted to a lining of pourpoint or cuir bouilli.

CROSSBOWMEN 238

For the MS. *see* note on p. 53.

ANELACE 239

An unusually long specimen of the ring knife or dagger worn at the girdle. The blade is usually shorter, and broader at the top. Found at Brooks' Wharf, Upper Thames Street, London, 1868.

SWORD AND SHIELD CARRIED BEFORE EDWARD III. AT CRÉCY . . 239

"The sword and shield that went before Edward III. in France formed part of the wonders of the Abbey as far back as the time of Queen Elizabeth." Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 123, quoting Rye, *England*, pub. 1592. For the legend attaching to the Stone of Scone under the Coronation Chair, *see* Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 50 *seq.* It was that the stone formed Jacob's pillow at Bethel, was transported to Egypt with his family, and was eventually carried off successively to Spain and Ireland. On the Hill of Tara Irish kings were crowned upon it; Fergus, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, carried it to Dunstaffnage in Scotland; eventually it was set up at Scone, and Scottish kings were crowned on it till it was brought to England by Edward I. Upon it he and every sovereign after him has been inaugurated. A more trustworthy tradition identifies it with the stone pillow of St. Columba (Stanley, p. 52), and its geological formation is that of the sandstone of the western coasts of Scotland.

PLAN OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF CRÉCY 240

PLAN OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF POITIERS 241

KNIGHTS AT POITIERS 242

From a nearly contemporary French MS. which belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, as stated in it in a note in his own hand.

ARMOUR ABOUT 1380 243

An illuminated initial from a collection, cut from a Bible executed

PAGE

in England early in the fifteenth century. As is often the case in MSS., the armour is of an earlier type.

THE OLD ARTILLERY: A TRÉBUCHET 244

See below on p. 247 (No. I. fig. 1). The exigencies of space in the MS. have so contracted the height of the drawing, which is on the lower margin of a page of the MS., that the machine as depicted would be unworkable.

THE OLD ARTILLERY: A SPRINGALD 245

According to Prof. Oman, the springald was a modification of the original balista or catapult, working by tension, which came to the front again in the thirteenth century and was largely used by the Emperor Frederick II. in his Italian wars. "About the end of the century it receives the new name of springal (espringale), and is found mounted on wheels and used in battle as a sort of light movable artillery. It was nothing more than a large arbalest (or crossbow) whose cord was pulled back by winches." Oman, *History of the Art of War* (Middle Ages), p. 545. For the MS. *see* below on p. 247 (the first).

CAPTURE OF CALAIS . . . . . *to face* 246

From a magnificently illuminated fifteenth-century MS. of the St. Albans' Chronicle at Lambeth Library. The armour and costumes are of that period. The MS. contains the autographs of John, Lord Lumley and Henry Fitzalan, Lord Arundel, the former of whom had obtained the collection of MSS. made by the latter when the monasteries were dissolved. At his death it was secured for the Royal library by Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James I. Kershaw, *Catalogue of the MSS. at Lambeth*, p. 58 *seq.*

THE EARLIEST REPRESENTATION OF A CANNON 246

From the "Millimete MS.," Christ Church, Oxford: a very beautiful illustrated MS. treatise on the dignities and functions of a king, written by Walter de Millimete, an ecclesiastic, and presented by him to Edward III., probably on his accession, as it is dated 1326. It is noticeable that the missile represented is a bolt, not a ball, a circumstance which brings the cannon into close relation with the balista, particularly as a crossbow firing the same kind of arrow-bolt is shown in the same MS. For this information the Editor is indebted to Mr. T. A. Archer.

SPRINGALD: EARLY CANNON AND SPRINGALD 247

The first is from MS. Canonici Misc. 378: a fifteenth-century MS., one of those collected by the Venetian Canonici, who died in 1805, and acquired by the Bodleian. The second is from the travels of Marco Polo, in MS. Bodl. 264. This MS. contains (1) the Romance of Alexander, and associated romances, in old French verse; (2) the fragment of an Alexander-romance in English alliterative verse; (3) the travels of Marco Polo in French. A note in a fifteenth-century hand at the end says that the MS. was bought in London on New Year's Day, 1466, by Richart de Wideuielle, *i.e.* Earl Rivers, father-in-law of Edward IV. The writing of Part I. was ended December 18th, 1338; its illumination was finished April 18th, 1344, by Jehan de Grise, who was a Fleming, and almost certainly lived at Bruges. Parts II. and III. were written in the first half of the fifteenth century, apparently by a single hand. Part II. is in West Midland dialect. For this information the Editor is indebted to Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian.

PAGE

A Page from the Black Book of the Admiralty 251

The MS. is of the earlier part of the fifteenth century; probably before 1422. Another, perhaps slightly later, is in the Bodleian. *Cf.* Twiss, *Introduction* to his edition of the treatise (Rolls Series).

Warship Leaving Port 253

A Primitive Breech-loading Cannon 257

Dug up at Walney Island in 1843 (*see post*, p. 469) and illustrating the character of guns of this period, though of a later date.

Portion of the Roll of Calais 260

Printed in full in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, as well as in Nicholas's *History of the Royal Navy*. "Goford" is apparently a mistake for Gosford, and represents the town of Woodbridge, with which probably surrounding places were grouped, as was the case with the Cinque Ports. "The estuary of the River Deben, which estuary is within a few miles of the town of Woodbridge, lies within or touches the bounds of the manor of Walton-with-Trimley, and in the court rolls of that manor is frequently called Gosford Haven. But the same estuary is in the rolls of the same manor also called Woodbridge Haven" (Mr. J. H. Josselyn, in *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, VIII., p. 151).

East Window, Gloucester Cathedral 263

Devonshire Foliage, Stoke-in-Teignhead Church 265

Three miles from Teignmouth: the carving is of about 1480.

Tudor Flowers 266

Edington Church, Wiltshire 267

Belonged to an Augustinian monastery founded in 1361 by William of Edington, afterwards William of Wykeham (*see* text). It was from this church, where he was celebrating mass, that Bishop Ayscough of Salisbury was dragged by the rebels of Jack Cade's rising (1450) to execution on a neighbouring hill. His palace here was plundered and destroyed by the insurgents.

Gatehouse, Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire 269

Westminster Hall 270

Fortified Rectory, Embleton, Northumberland 271

Seven and a half miles from Alnwick. Bishop Creighton, of London, had held the living for a time. The tower is of the fourteenth century. Whitton and Elsdon, both in Northumberland, are other instances of rectory-houses fortified against raids of borderers.

Bodiam Castle, near Robertsbridge, Sussex 273

In a wide moat covered with water-lilies. The castle was built by Sir Edward Dalyngrudge, who had fought at Crécy and Poitiers, and who acquired the property by marrying the heiress of the Wardedieu family. It was dismantled after the Civil Wars. Hare, *Sussex*, p. 44.

Sire Gawain and the Grene Knight 278

When King Arthur and his knights were celebrating Christmas, a gigantic knight with bushy hair and beard, dressed all in green,

PAGE

and armed only with a huge axe, entered the hall, and offered to let any man deal him a stroke with the axe on condition that he might return the blow. Sire Gawain accepted the challenge on King Arthur's behalf, and cut off the head of the stranger, who thereupon held it up and charged Gawain to meet him a year hence at "the Green Chapel." He then rode off, and the knights went on with their feast, conversing much over the marvel. On All Hallows Day of the succeeding year, Sire Gawain started to seek the Green Chapel, which was in the peninsula of Wirral, in Cheshire, where few good men lived. On his way he found splendid entertainment at a magnificent castle, where the lady made love to him while her husband was at the chase. Twice he resisted her, the third time he accepted her girdle as a love-token. Then he went to his encounter at the Green Chapel. The Green Knight's axe, however, severed only his skin, inasmuch as he had twice resisted temptation and yielded only so far as to accept a love-token. His antagonist then explained to him that the whole adventure was a device of the fairy Morgana, Arthur's half-sister, to warn Queen Guinevere. The poem, which exists only in this MS., was edited by Sir F. Madden for the Bannatyne Club in 1830, and by Mr. E. E. Morris for the Early English Text Society in 1864, from whose Introduction the above version is condensed.

SCENE FROM "PEARL" 279

The child is, of course, in heaven, and describes some of its splendours to her father, who afterwards recognises her as one of the virgins in a procession in honour of the Lamb. This romance, together with "Cleanness" (Chastity) and "Patience" (*see* text), all three from the same unique MS., has been edited by Dr. Richard Morris for the Early English Text Society, 1864.

OCCLEVE'S PORTRAIT OF CHAUCER 285

According to Skeat (*Chaucer's Works*, Vol. I., p. 59), "probably the only one which can be accepted as authentic." He quotes Sir Harris Nicolas's description: "The figure, which is half-length, has a background of green tapestry. He is represented with grey hair and beard, which is biforked; he wears a dark-coloured dress and hood; his right hand is extended, and in his left he holds a string of beads. From his vest a black case is suspended, which appears to contain a knife, or possibly a 'penner' or pencase. . . . Evident marks of advanced age appear on the countenance." The general opinion seems to be that the case contains a penknife, "useful for making erasures" (Skeat). As Occleve "had this portrait made," as stated in the accompanying text, it has the best claim to be considered authentic. Others mentioned by Skeat are: Chaucer on horseback, as one of the pilgrims, in the Ellesmere MS. (*see* on p. 291), and later ones, not authentic, in MS. Sloane 5141, and on wood in the Bodleian. There is also one in the National Portrait Gallery. For two others, *see* p. 287 and note.

PROLOGUE TO THE CANTERBURY TALES 287

From MS. 686, Bodleian Library, Oxford; described by Skeat (No. 14) as "a neat MS. with illuminations," of the A type, of which the Ellesmere text is the best example. The portrait of Chaucer, compared with the others extant, may indicate that the likeness was traditional. A portrait in a similar position exists in MS. Lansdowne 851.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS 291, 293, 295, 297

From the famous Ellesmere MS., which belonged to the Duke of

PAGE

Bridgewater, of canal fame, and is now in the possession of the Earl of Ellesmere. The figures are the work of two artists, one of whom places them on a base. His drawing is the less satisfactory, according to Mr. W. A. Hooper, who copied the figures for the Six-text edition published by the Chaucer Society. The MS., on vellum, of the fifteenth century, is regarded by Dr. Furnivall and Mr. Skeat as the best of the known MSS. of the Tales.

PORTION OF WYCLIFFE'S EARLIER ENGLISH BIBLE 302

From a MS. of the fifteenth century, containing the books from the Proverbs to the Apocalypse inclusive, with a calendar of the Gospels and Epistles after the Sarum use. It belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

PORTRAIT OF WYCLIFFE 303

The earliest portrait of the reformer to which a date can be assigned is an engraving in Bale, *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorium Summarium*, 1548. The figure has his hand on a Bible which rests on a balustrade, and this and the background are Renaissance in character. The next, attributed to Antonio Moro, is at Wycliffe-on-Tees Rectory, and was probably painted before 1554. The portrait given, by the kind permission of the Earl of Denbigh, is on panel, and certainly of considerable antiquity. Copies exist at Balliol College, Oxford, and at Lutterworth Rectory, and it may be regarded as the least unauthentic. Another, more conventional in treatment, is at Knole; while a fifth, the most graphic of all, is at King's College, Cambridge. It is not at present regarded by the College as certainly a representation of Wycliffe, but it was engraved as such by Faber in 1715. He painted several portraits of founders of colleges, and perhaps this also; and his plate, retouched by Houston, was published in a series of portraits of Reformers in 1759. The late Mr. L. Sergeant detected in it a likeness to Bale's portrait, and thought the latter might have been based on a sketch discovered by Bale (a great collector of MSS.) in his researches. *See* his *Life of Wycliffe*. p. 305.

PAGE FROM NICHOLAS OF HEREFORD'S VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT 305

The name of the translator will be noticed.

PART OF A TRACT BY WYCLIFFE 307

The MS. of the *Wyket*, the most famous of his tracts, is lost. The page given is from MS. Harl. 2385, a collection of tracts, many of them deliberately mutilated. The *De Dominio Divino* exists in MS. at Trinity College, Dublin. Other MSS. of Wycliffe's works are in the Douce collection at the Bodleian.

PRIDE—A STERN FATHER 309

Miniatures from a Douce MS. of the latest version, or "C-text," of Piers the Plowman, dating from the fifteenth century. That of Pride seems to be meant for a portrait of Purnele Proud-herte, who represents that deadly sin in the text; but Langland himself regarded her as a female. The other illustrates a quotation of Solomon's words, "He who spareth the rod, hateth his son."

GOWER AS A SATIRIST 311

In the quatrain above, which is in Latin elegiac verse, the poet declares that he shoots his arrows at the world, but the just remain unharmed by them; and he exhorts mankind to search their own hearts accordingly.

PAGE

GOWER'S TOMB, ST. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK 313

Gower was a great benefactor to this church, and was buried here in 1408, as he desired in his will. His effigy bears Henry IV.'s badge. A tablet formerly existed close by the tomb promising 1,500 days' pardon to all who should pray for his soul. The tomb was repaired in 1615, 1704, and 1830.

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM'S PASTORAL STAFF, NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD . 316

Silver gilt; the Bishop himself is represented beneath the crook, on his knees.

MERTON COLLEGE LIBRARY, OXFORD 317

The building dates as a library from about 1376, and as such is the earliest in Oxford; but it was probably in use before that date as a dormitory. *Cf.* Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College*, p. 15 *seq.* An entry of a payment of 2s. for making "palatia" or latticed studies and desks in the library, exists in the College accounts under January, 1354; *ibid.*

QUADRANGLE, WINCHESTER COLLEGE 318

THE FIRST ENGLISH SANITARY ACT 321

1388: 12 Ric. II, cap. xiii.

AULNAGER'S SEAL, IPSWICH MUSEUM 325

Found in a field at Hadleigh, Suffolk; dates from the early part of the fourteenth century. The function of the aulnager was to certify that cloth was of the standard quality and full measure.

THE TREASURY, MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD 327

The building, with its curious high-pitched roof of solid masonry, is the College muniment-room. It is not of later date than 1310, and is sometimes referred to an earlier period. Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College*, p. 13.

"WHEN ADAM DELVED AND EVE SPAN" 329

From a late fourteenth century English MS. of the Pentateuch.

ANCIENT HOME OF THE CAVENDISH FAMILY 331

Cavendish Overhall, Suffolk; still extant in the grounds of the Rectory. Chief Justice John Cavendish was taken by the rebels to Bury St. Edmunds and there put to death. He made his will, leaving money to repair the chancel of the church, and directing that he should be buried beside the high altar, near his wife Alice. The manor passed out of the family in 1569. They were connected with the Cloptons, and the representation of another member from the church at Long Melford, Suffolk, will be found at page 649 of this volume. *See* a paper on their history in *Archæologia*, Vol. XI.

THE DAGGER THAT SLEW WAT TYLER 332

Preserved at Fishmongers' Hall, London; the Lord Mayor was Sir William Walworth.

TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP SUDBURY, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL . . . 333

In the south choir aisle; he died in 1381.

BELFRY AND CLOTH HALL, BRUGES 337

The belfry, 352 feet high, was begun in 1291 and finished about

PAGE

a century later; the Halles were erected during the same period, but altered in the sixteenth century. Part of the building was originally intended for a cloth-market.

STAPLE SEALS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY 341

That of Lincoln represents the Virgin crowned, carrying the Holy Child, and standing on a woolsack; that of Southampton, which may possibly belong to the thirteenth century, a leopard's face in a rosette, with small roses and fleurs de lis; that of Boston, St. Botolph, the patron saint of the town, standing behind a woolpack, with his pastoral staff and book.

ERPINGHAM GATE, NORWICH 345

Built by Sir Thomas Erpingham (who fought at Agincourt), possibly as a thankoffering; the arms of both his wives appear upon it, and the date is thus fixed as subsequent to 1411. The seated figures on the buttresses represent ecclesiastics; the kneeling figure under the canopy above is that of Sir Thomas himself.

THE LYNN CUP . . . . . *To face page* 346

According to tradition, this cup was presented to the town by King John, but the costume of the figures belongs to the succeeding century, and it has been conjectured to be the gift of King John of France during his captivity; he may have accompanied King Edward III. and Queen Philippa on one of their progresses—possibly that commemorated by the illustration on p. 347, during which he was entertained. *Cf.* Cripps, *Old English Plate*, p. 300. It holds half a pint and weighs 73 ounces, and is 15 inches high; it has a cover, and is enriched with enamels. It is described by Cripps as "the most remarkable specimen of the goldsmiths' work of its period."

BRISTOL STATE SWORD, 1373 346

In 1373 Bristol was made a county by itself, and this sword, some of the ornamentation of which is of the fourteenth century, may have been given by Edward III. at the time.

FOUNDER'S HORN, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE . . . 346

This horn was presented by John Goldcorne to the Guild of Corpus Christi at Cambridge about the year 1347, and eventually passed to Corpus Christi College, which was founded by that Guild and the Guild of the Virgin in 1352. The horn is that of a buffalo; part of the mounting is of Elizabeth's reign. It is $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the lip. *Cf.* Atkinson and Bowes, *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Plate in the Fitzwilliam Museum.*

INGATHERING OF AN ORCHARD; PEACOCK FEAST 347

From the lower borders of brasses in St. Margaret's Church, Lynn, Norfolk, in memory of Adam de Walsoken, 1349, and Robert Braunche and his wives, 1374. The upper one resembles in its character the illustrations of the famous MS. of the Decretals, Royal 10 E. iv., from which our illustrations of the Legend of Theophilus and others have been taken (Birch and Jenner, *Index to Illustrated MSS. in the British Museum*, Introduction). The lower one may possibly represent the feast at which King John of France was present (*see* on p. 346). The two have been described by the well-known antiquary, Mr. Walter Rye, as "the two finest memorial brasses in England." Our illustrations are taken from the Hutchison

PAGE

collection of brass-rubbings in the British Museum, MS. 32,489, which is second only to the Addington collection.

SHOP OF MEDIEVAL TYPE, ELMHAM, NORFOLK 348

With the addition of a bench under an overhanging porch for the display of the goods, this illustration would precisely correspond to the description given in our text, Vol. I., p. 662.

DRINKING VESSELS, GUILDHALL MUSEUM, LONDON 349

ST. MICHAEL'S, CORNHILL, BEFORE 1421 351

Reproduced, by the kind permission of the Rector and Churchwardens, from an old print of a pen-and-ink drawing of the time of Henry V., now lost, which existed on the flyleaf of a vestry book in the possession of the parish. It is figured in *Londina Illustrata*. The steeple was pulled down in 1421.

ST. MARY'S HALL, COVENTRY 352

Begun 1394 as a guildhall, finished 1414; the interior was "beautified" in 1580.

ST. IVES BRIDGE, SHOWING THE CHAPEL AT ITS CENTRE 353

The chapel has been converted into a dwelling. A better known example of the connection of bridge and chapel exists at Wakefield.

A ROYAL TRAVELLING CARRIAGE AND ITS HORSES 354, 355

A queen and princesses (wearing crowns) are seen at the windows. Behind, a lady is handing out her little dog for exercise to one of the horsemen in attendance. For the MS. *see* Vol. I., p. 642.

SADDLE HORSES 356

A HALT 357

The horsemen shown in the previous illustration appear to have determined to fraternise. The heavy build of the horses is characteristic of most illustrations of the animal down to the end of the seventeenth century.

TAKING SANCTUARY. (For the MS. *see* note on Vol. I., p 407) . . 358

COOKING OUTSIDE AN INN (for MS. *see* on p. 247) 359

A WAYFARER (for MS. *see* on I., p. 642). 360

A PEDLAR; A BIRDCAGE SELLER (for MSS. *see* on Vol. I., p. 642 and Vol. II., p. 247) 361

KING AND JESTER 362

From the Psalter made for Joan, mother of Richard II.; the illustration commonly occurs at Psalm liii. 1.

STROLLING PLAYERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES 363

The hurdy gurdy is described by Grove (*Dictionary of Music and Musicians, sub voc.*) as "a stringed instrument of which the strings are set in vibration by a wooden wheel, which acts on them like the bow of a violin." The strings were stretched over keys, and so could be tightened or relaxed. An early example, which required a second player to attend to the keys, is figured in C. Engel, *Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 103. The "stilt act" shown is one of the embellishments of a curious roll of the kings of England down to Henry III., executed about 1280. The "regal," according to Grove, *op. cit., s. v.*, was a small portable

PAGE

organ, sometimes made to fold up to the size of a large Bible. A single regal (like that shown), with the player, is represented in a stone carving in Beverley Minster, a double regal in Melrose Cathedral; an example with peculiar keys is in a painting by Melazzo da Forli in the National Gallery (Engel, *op. cit.*). The term was also applied to an "instrument of percussion with sonorous slabs of wood." The jugglers, two of whom appear to be monkeys, are from the Tenison Psalter of the fourteenth century. For the other MSS. *see* notes on p. 247, and Vol. I., p. 642.

THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY, EXETER CATHEDRAL 364

The instruments are identified by Mr. Carl Engel (*op. cit.*) as: 1, Cittern; 2, Bagpipe; 3, Clarion, a small, shrill trumpet; 4, Rebec; 5, Psaltery; 6, Syrinx; 7, Sackbut; 8, Regals; 9, Gittern, a small guitar strung with catgut; 10, Shalm, a pipe with a reed in the mouth-hole; 11, Timbrel, like a modern tambourine with a double row of gingles; 12, Cymbals.

DAUGHTER OF HERODIAS DANCING 366

"Queen Mary's Psalter": *see* note on Vol. I., p. 543. A still more startling representation of the same scene exists in a Flemish MS. of a work on the interpretation of Scripture (MS. Harl., 1527).

"LONG HOURS OF IDLENESS HAD TO BE FILLED SOMEHOW" . . 367

From the great MS. of the Alexander Romance in the Bodleian (*see ante* on p. 247).

PRIEST (WITH PARDON), BEGGAR, PALMER AND HERMIT . . . 371

Three of these are from the MS. of Piers Plowman, referred to in the note on p. 309. The first is the travelling priest who takes Piers' pardon and reads it to him.

CHAPEL AT HOUGHTON, NORFOLK, ON THE ROAD TO WALSINGHAM . 375

Fourteenth century: now restored under Roman Catholic auspices. There is a local tradition that the pilgrims used to take off their shoes here and perform the rest of the journey (a mile) to the shrine barefoot.

PILGRIMS' SIGNS, FROM THE GUILDHALL MUSEUM 377

St. Thomas Becket is represented on the extreme left on horseback and in the brooch in the centre. The ampulla or little flask may be from Rheims, but miracle-working water was often brought away from shrines (as to-day from Bari). The cockle-shell is from S. Jago di Compostella. To this day, children in London streets build little houses of oyster-shells, and ask the passer-by to "remember the grotto" with a small coin—a survival of the medieval practice of pilgrimage to the Spanish shrine. *Cf.* Chambers, *Book of Days*, I., p. 334, and on the subject generally, Wright, *Archæological Album; Archæologia*, XXXVIII., 128 *seq.*, *Journal of Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, I., and Roach, *Collectanea Antiqua*,

BOYS' WHIPPING TOPS 380

For the MS. *see* note on p. 247.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

As the story of English civilisation goes forward, the sources available for its illustration become not only more abundant but more diversified. Miniatures from manuscripts supplement the evidence as to costume and manners afforded by the articles of domestic use or personal ornament, which are almost all we have to depend upon for the periods of the Roman occupation and of the Old-English Kingdoms. But these miniatures themselves gradually become specialised: pictures from romances or from purely secular treatises, now on medicine, now on astrology, now on history or politics, replace the representation of Biblical scenes on which we must chiefly rely for our reconstructions of the dress of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the marginal drawings of the great Psalters and other service books present to us pictures, which we can hardly distrust, of the occupations and amusements of the daily life of the fourteenth and fifteenth. Monumental brasses afford invaluable evidence as to the gradual strengthening and elaboration of armour to meet the ever-increasing improvements in missile weapons, until its very complexity and weight brought about a reaction. The shipping begins to be revealed to us, not in conventional forms, out of whose scattered details we must reconstruct the veritable images of the sea-going craft of a medieval navy, but in drawings approximately like the originals as a whole. By the end of the fifteenth century even the faces of the actors in the pageant are becoming known to us—known as vividly, in some cases, as the faces of our own contemporaries. Corporation and college plate adds its testimony to the growth of economic prosperity, and the architectural examples, as they multiply, tell the same tale. Moreover, they are now, in an increasing ratio, secular as well as ecclesiastical, and civic or commercial as well as military.

In the present volume abundant use has been made of all these opportunities for illustration, and an effort has been

made to keep to strictly contemporary and English MS. sources, except where a foreign MS. could be legitimately drawn upon, as in dealing with Continental warfare or foreign trade. But before acknowledging our obligations a word must be said as to the arrangement of the text. From the first inception of the work the exigencies of space have now and then compelled departure from the strict chronological limits assigned to each chapter, and the introduction by a retrospective, or less frequently a prospective, treatment, of matter lying outside them. The history of English law is better understood, and can be more concisely told, when grouped into four or five comprehensive sections, than when allowed to proceed *pari passu* with the political and ecclesiastical history. The story of early English travel is best treated as an introduction, and a contrast, to the great outburst of activity in exploration which marks the sixteenth century; and the treatment under four separate headings of the manners and morals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which Professor Medley has adopted in the new sections specially written for this volume of the illustrated edition, will probably be found to secure a gain in comprehensiveness as well as to save space.

Our acknowledgments are again due to the owners or custodians of a very great number of valuable MS. or antiquities for their permission to reproduce them in this volume. We need scarcely mention again how very greatly we are indebted to the authorities and staff of the British Museum, or to Bodley's Librarian. We have also to express our thanks to the Librarians of Cambridge University, and of Trinity College, Dublin; to Baron von Hügel, Keeper of the Cambridge University Archæological Museum; to the Librarians of Lambeth Palace Library, of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, of Trinity College and of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and of Balliol College and Oriel Colleges, and of Christ Church, Oxford; to the heads and governing bodies of these colleges, and also of Merton, New, and Queen's Colleges, Oxford; to the Corporation of the City of London, and the Librarian of the Guildhall Library; to the Corporations of Bristol and King's Lynn; to the Chapter of the Royal College of Arms; to the Benchers of the Inner

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February, 1902. J. S. Mann.

ST. GEORGE AND PLANTAGENET EARL OF LANCASTER.

(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

SOCIAL ENGLAND.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM. 1274–1348.

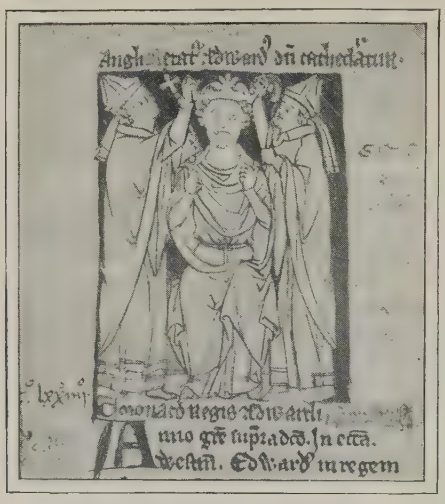
A. L. SMITH. The Reign of Edward I.

SELDOM in the history of a nation do the twin streams of political and social progress maintain an equal and uniform rate of speed. Now one, now the other, flows the more rapidly of the two. Trade and industry, arts and manners, may undergo a transformation while the history of politics is a comparative blank; or, conversely, an era of political activity may concur with a season of social and economic repose. The period we are now approaching is one of the latter kind: and even the social historian finds himself compelled to give his first attention to the policy and person of a single statesman-king.

The work awaiting Edward I. was of such variety and such magnitude as to surpass in permanent importance even that effected by Henry II. To reduce Wales, and to deal with Scotland; to settle on an enduring basis the judicial and the military system of England; to transform the old taxes into a new financial scheme; to cope with the eternal problem of Church and State, a problem then nearing an acute stage; to accept the principles of the Charters, and the lessons of the last reign, without hampering the royal power or strengthening the baronage; lastly, to find the true path for the progress of representative institutions, a path that even Montfort had missed: all this needed a strong man, as well as a wise and good one. Edward I., indeed, of all our sovereigns, if not absolutely the foremost, yet stands second only to Henry VIII. in strength of character, to Alfred or to Henry VI. in righteousness; but in practical wisdom, in constructive insight, in justice of conception, second to none.

Wales.

The reduction of Wales was the first need. The Welsh were a standing menace to England. They had seized the opportunity of every rising, against John, against the Regency, against Henry III. Their indomitable animosity necessitated the existence of great districts on the borders, where the Bohuns, Mortimers, and Clares were independent "Lords Marchers," and thought less of justice to the Welsh, or



CORONATION OF EDWARD I.
(*Chetham Library, Manchester.*)

loyalty to the king, than of thwarting and defeating each other. The English kings had tried force and friendship, alike in vain. Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, had been given a bride of the English royal house, and David, his brother, had been specially favoured by Edward; yet in 1282, both revolted (p. 22). Edward's vengeance was swift. In appealing to his people for men and money, he reminded them of the countless treasons of the Welsh; how, like foxes, they had troubled the land; how they slaughtered men, women, and children, burned castles and cottages, and feared neither God nor man. He invaded Wales; Llewellyn fell; David was solemnly tried and executed as a traitor and conspirator, a blasphemer and a murderer. Wales was assimilated to England, and English laws were introduced. The process

was slow, but by Tudor times it was complete. The story of the baby prince presented at Carnarvon to the Welsh, as their promised Prince of Wales, who could speak no English, shows that popular tradition rightly referred back to Edward I. the whole credit of the result.

Gascony. From 1286 to 1289 Edward was in Gascony, securing that province, the last fragment of the great Plantagenet dominion in France. In 1293 Philip le Bel, by an unworthy trick, seized the strongholds of the province, and seemed to be designing a raid on English coasts. Edward again appealed to his people in 1295 against the King of France, who, "not content with his former fraud and iniquity," was now gathering a fleet and host "to invade the land and wipe the English name from the earth." At last, by Edward's marriage to Philip's sister Margaret in 1299, an accommodation was arranged.

Legal Reforms. In the meantime the chief constitutional results of the reign had been produced at home. The Statute of Mortmain (1279) checked the absorption of land by the Church, and consequent impoverishment of all landowners; and, therefore, of the Crown, the greatest landowner of all. Other statutes with the same view were that called De Donis[1] (1285), which protected reversionary estates and incidentally established a system of entails, and the Act of 1290, Quia Emptores,[2] which, in attempting to retain the profitable "incidents" of feudal tenure, opened the door to changes which overthrew the very basis of feudalism. Indeed, Edward's general aim has been defined by Bishop Stubbs as the elimination of the principle of tenure from the region of government. Hitherto political right, military power, social privilege, had all been distributed according to the distinctions between classes of tenants; the chief tenants alone made the laws, had armed retainers, and still kept private jurisdictions. Henceforth this was to be altered. The great council of tenants in chief was to be expanded into a representative

[1 "Of Gifts," *sc.* of land, by will or otherwise.]

[2 The opening words of the statute: "Forasmuch as purchasers" (of lands have heretofore held on tenures detrimental to the chief lord, it is provided by the statute that land may be sold only so as to be held of the chief lord). The aim of the statute was to prevent such a subdivision of fiefs as would deprive the chief lords of their privileges in cases of escheat, wardship, etc.]

Parliament; feudal levies were to become a national army; and feudal franchises were to be merged in royal and national justice. To effect this a thorough inquiry was made by what warrant in each case such franchises were claimed. The barons resented an inquiry into their title-deeds as an interference with rights of property. Earl Warrenne threw down an ancient rusty sword before the justices with the proud words, "See, my masters, here is my warrant." But this was a piece of acting; he submitted like the rest. Edward's judicial reforms, however, had also a constructive side. He completed the separation between the three courts, Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Pleas. He defined the Assize Circuits, he provided new forms of legal remedy, to meet the growth of legal business, and so laid the foundation for the great Equity jurisdiction in Chancery (p. 49), which has done so much for English social life. In 1289 he dismissed most of the judges for corruption. His banishment of the Jews the same year (p. 49) was not from mere bigotry, but also from a determination to enforce the usury laws, to protect the coinage, and to destroy an agency by which the powerful dispossessed the smaller landowners. His military measures included a strict inspection twice a year of the national militia, arranged in its classes from mailed knight to archer armed with dagger; a strict watch by night in all boroughs, and the duty of "hue and cry" at the sheriff's summons; the clearance of 200 feet on each side of all highways, a precaution against lurking footpads. The old caste distinctions of tenure he regarded as obsolete; all men who had property enough were "distrained to take up knighthood," whether chief tenants or mesne [1] tenants, and whether holding by military service or not. Similarly for his wars, he called on all classes alike to fight for their country, whether on the English coasts, or across Scottish or Welsh borders, or in Gascony or Flanders. But Edward's greatest title to the reverence of Englishmen is as the real creator of Parliament. Representative institutions had been advancing throughout the thirteenth century. John himself had been driven to call an assembly of representatives from every shire. The ministers had called four knights from every shire in 1254, and Montfort had added to his

Judicial Reforms.

[1 "Mediate," *i.e.* holding of the chief tenants, not directly of the king.]

Parliament of 1265 two burgesses from each of certain boroughs; but it was Edward I. who completed the whole process by successive steps in 1275, 1282, 1290, 1294, and 1295—steps so steadily progressive as to prove he had a deliberate plan, and one which grew under his hands. It was he whose action determined that burgesses should sit with shire knights—a point on which turns the whole history of the House of Commons and its indestructibility. It was he who insisted on the great Estate of the clergy being represented like the barons, and the Commons and all the three

SEAL OF EDWARD I.

Estates meeting at the same time and place. Thus, the Model Parliament of 1295 was the full working out of the maxim of his reign: "That which touches all should be approved by all." At the same time, Edward was steadily reducing the House of Lords to a very manageable number, and emphasising the fact that peerage depended not on tenure, but only on royal writ of summons.

State and Church.

His determination that the clergy should not hold aloof from national burdens was manifested early in the reign. In 1279 the Oseney monk records with horror that "the clergy are to be treated even as the people are," and they had to pay a similar tax. This and the Mortmain Act were his reply to the aggressive attitude which Archbishop Peckham had just assumed. In 1291 he had, by appeal to the Pope, got a tithe of ecclesiastical property. In 1294 he had openly told the assembled clergy to observe how the barons had, in

view of the French war, undertaken both to fight and to pay, so that they who could do no fighting must at least pay. Twice they yielded, and twice a still heavier call was made on them. But at this juncture the Papacy had thrown down the gauntlet to the sovereigns of Christendom. The Bull Clericis Laicos[1] forbade kings to take and churchmen to pay taxes on ecclesiastical property. Edward promptly outlawed the clergy. Unfortunately for the king, the same year, 1297, brought him into violent conflict with his barons. Bohun the Constable and Bigod the Marshal refused to serve in Flanders; "they would neither go nor hang," they answered his threat. The barons assembled in arms, "1,500 knights equipped for war": a force of some thousands in all. Edward had to compromise with the clergy; he would confirm the Charters, and they should make a voluntary gift. Then he sailed for Flanders.

King and Barons.

But in his absence the barons combined again with clergy and people to add seven new articles to the Charters, and Edward had to ratify these at Ghent. The effect of this was to restrict tallage, and such exactions within their old customary limits, and to lay down the principle that not the Crown, but Parliament, should have the whole power of taxation. The long struggle which opens with the Great Charter in 1215 thus closes, at least in one aspect. Principles then laid down were now accepted as final. It only remained to ensure this being acted on. But Edward was not a King John; nor was Winchelsey a Langton; nor did Bohun or Bigod rise to the moral stature of the Marshalls or Montforts. It was only on a narrow technical point that the two earls first opposed the king, and not until the Church and the nation had suffered three years of oppressive taxation. Their constitutional cry comes only as an after-thought; and but for the exceptional concurrence of difficulties that beset Edward, and the arbitrary actions to which this hurried him, they would hardly have succeeded.

There is, in fact, a certain theatrical air of unreality over the whole attitude of the barons to the king in this reign. We are irresistibly reminded of Warrenne's rusty sword and empty vaunt. Their constitutional leadership was indeed over

[1 The opening words of the general introduction to it.]

and done with, though it takes the nation another century yet to realise this. They are passing from feudal barons into ordinary nobles; becoming courtiers and officials instead of petty princes or leaders of provinces. Of the twelve greatest earldoms, no less than seven before Edward's death had come into the royal house by escheat[1] or marriage alliance.

Throughout Edward's later life the sky had been growing overcast. With the Scottish war the sun of his fortunes set in cloud and storm. He had hoped that the betrothal of his own son to the young Queen of Scots, 1290, would peacefully unite the two kingdoms. But the same year she died. Many claimants to the throne sprang up. The Scots appealed to Edward to arbitrate. He appointed a meeting at Norham, 1291, and marched thither with a great army. His proceedings from that point it seems impossible for any Scotsman, even at the present day, to judge calmly. Yet there can be no doubt on the one hand that the competitors, and Scots themselves, as well as the public opinion of Christendom, regarded the English kings as having some overlordship over Scotland; that there were enough historical instances of homage done by Scottish kings to seem to support a feudal claim; that southern Scotland was closely akin to northern England, and had but little bond with the Celtic north; and that Edward's award, by which John Baliol, a Yorkshire baron, became King of Scots in 1292, was scrupulously just. On the other hand, Edward certainly pressed his feudal rights to the uttermost, and helped to make Baliol's position untenable; and when the Scots made alliance with France, he attacked them as allies of his enemies, sacked Berwick and Edinburgh, captured and deposed Baliol, and left Scotland under the heavy hand of Earl Warrenne, who had won the victory of Dunbar. His defeat of the Scots at Falkirk, and futile campaigns of 1299, 1300, and 1301, and his overwhelming march from end to end of the land in 1303, followed by the execution of Wallace for treason, murder, and sacrilege, acted as stern lessons to teach the Scots patriotism and union. Scottish nationality was the creation of Edward's tyranny. He did what he deemed his duty; but there are some mistakes which

Scotland.

[1] Reversion to the king as overlord, whether through failure of heirs or forfeiture.]

count almost as crimes. If anything could expiate such, it would be the unshaken heroism with which Edward pursued his purpose. Neither disaster nor mortal disease could turn him aside; ill as he was, he took a solemn vow, 1306, to avenge Robert Bruce's murder of Comyn and assumption of the crown. He died in July, 1307, almost in the act of mounting his horse at the frontier town of Burgh-on-Sands, to march against the rebel Robert Bruce; and men believed that the great king, as if his iron will could defy death itself, had ordered that his bones should be carried in the van of his army till the Scots were utterly subdued. Two years before, he had secured from a new Pope the suspension of Archbishop Winchelsey, whom he could never forgive for supporting the Papal claim to overlordship of Scotland, and whose action as head of the Church in 1297 he had never forgotten. The king skilfully contrived that the indignant repudiation of this claim should proceed from the assembled baronage of England.

The Work of Edward I.

Thus when he died a great and manifold work seemed to have been accomplished. He had preserved Gascony, conquered Wales, and (apparently) Scotland. The great days of the baronage were over; the boldest and last of medieval declarations of Church independence had been defeated; he had transformed the Great Council and the system of taxation, and reduced feudalism to harmlessness; he had granted the people's demands without impairing the real power of the Crown, which was never before, or for two hundred years afterwards, so strong as now, when it expressed and summed up the national will. And yet the tragic fate that seemed to mock all the Plantagenets foredoomed to futility much of Edward's most earnest endeavours. It was his aggression that first made Scotland into a nation: he had raised a spirit potent to wreck his own plans. Hardly was he dead before his own son showed how much Scottish independence would owe to the incapacity and neglect of Edward's own posterity. He had forced the clergy into his Parliamentary scheme; but in a few years from his Parliament of 1295 they had slipped out of their representation in Parliament, and taken refuge in their own Houses of Convocation. This same ironical fate brought it about that the "Hammer of the Scots" should till recent years have had his history read through the distorting

medium of Scottish sources; and that the king, who had taken for a watchword the motto "Keep faith," should be accused, by an almost inconceivable misreading of the events, of three gross breaches of faith with his subjects.

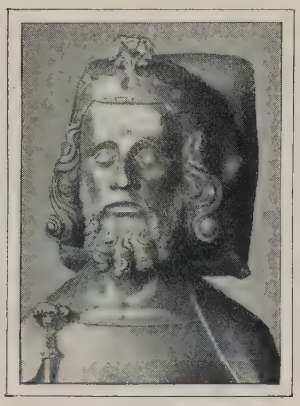
The Reign of Edward II.

Has it more of the ludicrous or of the pathetic to read of the high hopes which his contemporaries had of Edward II.? With justice has the reign been made the subject of drama. The characters are strikingly contrasted: the idle, heedless, unworthy king, more to be pitied than

SEAL OF EDWARD II.

wholly condemned; his dashing, sharp-tongued, pernicious favourite, Piers Gaveston; his brutal, sullen, implacable cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, incapable head of the jealous lords; the somewhat enigmatical figures of the two Despensers, the king's later confidants, and the dark under-plot of the vicious queen and her lover, Mortimer; the roll of murders, ending in the horrible story of Berkeley Castle and the "screams of an agonising king." From the first, Edward II. reversed his father's policy; he made truce with the Scots, and hurried south to his marriage with Isabella and their coronation; he recalled Gaveston, and heaped on him extravagant honours; for his sake he quarrelled with his father's old ministers. As early as 1308, a bitter wrath had been kindled against the favourite, and the king had to consent to banish him, only to recall him next year. The Parliament held in 1309 presented an urgent demand for reforms, which the Lords took up, and by 1310 the king's authority was practically superseded

by twenty-one Lords Ordainers. These drew up the Ordinances of 1311, besides again banishing Gaveston, and put the appointment and the power of war and peace in the hands of the baronage. When the king declared them null, the barons rose, and captured and beheaded Gaveston. After Edward's disgraceful defeat at Bannockburn, 1314, the Ordainers seized the reins completely. Thomas of Lancaster was supreme, but was too short-sighted or too traitorous to do anything. Private wars broke out; the administration was almost suspended; the Scots ravaged the northern counties. Robert Bruce, who had recovered his fortresses almost unopposed, now, by the capture of Berwick in 1318, completed his royal title. His marauders in 1319 took blackmail as far south as Ripon.



HEAD OF EDWARD II.
(*From Effigy in Gloucester Cathedral.*)

Meanwhile the obscure struggles of the various factions among the barons continued, governed by the merest personal motives. It is typical of the times that the two Despensers (father and son), who from 1318 to the end of the reign took the place left vacant by Gaveston's death, posed as champions of constitutionalism, but for purely selfish objects; while the ferocious hatred felt for them by the other barons, which expressed itself in the old constitutional phrases of the Charter epoch, was really nothing more than jealousy and disappointed greed. The movement, indeed, arose in that hotbed of ancient hatred and intrigues, the Welsh marches, and began in a quarrel over the Gloucester co-heiresses, the Despensers having secured the lion's share. In 1321 the peers of the land declared sentence of exile against the Despensers; but Edward with unexpected promptitude, raised an army, struck down the Mortimers in the west, and defeated and captured Thomas of Lancaster at Boroughbridge. The mighty earl, "King Arthur," as Gaveston had called him, with a double sting in the allusion, the king's cousin, son of one queen, uncle of

The Despensers.

another, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, Derby, Lincoln, and Salisbury, lord of many castles and honours, and of many hundred manors, had fallen at one blow. He was tried and condemned, and executed before his own castle of Pontefract. Thus was Gaveston's blood avenged by that of Lancaster; but this stain, in its turn, must be washed away by the downfall of Edward II. and his grandson, Richard II.; and the

Photo: Graphotone Co

BERKELEY CASTLE: EXTERIOR OF BUILDING IN WHICH EDWARD II. WAS MURDERED.

vindictive spirit thus aroused only drank its fill at last on the fields of Towton and Tewkesbury, or the scaffolds where died the last of the Poles, the Staffords, and the Courtenays under the Tudor axe. Edward was for a time supreme, and he dealt a blow at the Ordinances by declaring such laws must be made by a full Parliament, not by barons alone. This hit exactly the weak point in the Ordainers' conduct: they had tried to govern for the people, but not by the people. They had been blind to the great upgrowth of political consciousness in the nation. They were still at heart with the narrow exclusive baronage of 1258, and ignored the rise of representative Parliament in the interval. But their

power to harm, despite Edward's triumph, was not exhausted yet. In 1323 he made ignominious peace with the Scots. In 1325 his queen and younger son, whom he had sent to France on a mission, joined Roger Mortimer, the fugitive rebel, and on September 24th, 1326, they returned "to avenge Lancaster, and punish the Despensers"; the barons, the Londoners, the bishops, the king's own brothers, all joined them. They took Bristol, and hanged the elder Despenser on a gallows fifty feet high, and the younger at Hereford. At the Parliament in January the mob clamoured for the king's deposition; the archbishop preached on the text "*Vox populi, vox Dei.*" The king was made to confess himself unworthy to reign; all renounced allegiance, and his son was proclaimed.

The Accession of Edward III.

On the 21st of September it was announced that Edward was dead in Berkeley Castle: murdered, we cannot doubt, and murdered by connivance at least of the adulterous queen and her paramour. These now ruled the kingdom for nearly four years. It is true Edward III. was crowned king, and that Henry of Lancaster was head of the Council; but it was Mortimer who took to himself all the Despenser estates, with the new title of Earl of March; who, through the queen, absorbed two-thirds of the Crown revenues; whose retinue of one hundred and eighty knights and assumption of the state of a "May-day king" provoked his own son's remonstrances, and persuaded the nation that he aimed at the throne itself. It was to little purpose that they had exchanged Edward and the Despensers for Isabella and Mortimer. The failure of the great host raised in 1328 to repel the Scots, and the inglorious terms of the "Foul Peace" of Northampton, were ascribed to treachery on the part of Mortimer. Still more clearly, in the trap laid for Edmund of Kent, the late king's brother, and his consequent execution, was seen Mortimer's handiwork. Already Henry of Lancaster had vainly tried to effect a rising which should throw off the favourite's yoke; but he had failed, and had to pay dearly for it. Thus when, at the instigation of the Lancastrian party, the young king cleverly entered Nottingham Castle at night by an underground passage, and arrested Mortimer, there went up a general cry of triumph from the whole land. He was tried by the Lords,

condemned unheard, and suffered a traitor's cruel death at Smithfield, December, 1330. When his great-grandson married Philippa of Clarence, that destiny which made the Mortimers as it were the fated curse of the Plantagenet house began its final fulfilment. Richard, Duke of York, cousin and supplanter of Henry VI., was the son of the last heiress of the Mortimers; and the name of this powerful family only died out in the general destruction which involved both royal

Mortimer Executed.

SEAL OF EDWARD III.

branches and the families allied to them. With the fall of Mortimer and the seclusion of Isabella the real reign of Edward III. begins.

The Reign of Edward III.

In a later age, and even in modern times, that reign has often been looked back upon as a golden age of prosperity and glory. But even such a superficial view must recognise that from the year 1349 the picture of the reign assumes a more sombre colouring. From that year the mistakes of foreign policy, the cruel weight of taxation, Court intrigues and quarrels, political discontent, and ominous mutterings of a great social storm, force themselves into notice. But till then, one who saw, like Froissart, only the bright surface of things, had a stirring tale to tell. Edward had supported the raid of Edward Baliol into Scotland to dispossess the young king, David Bruce. In a few weeks Baliol wore the crown, but for a few weeks only. In 1333, the Scots, advancing to relieve Berwick, suffered the crushing defeat of Halidon Hill. The young King of Scots fled to France. Scotland submitted

Scotland.

to Edward, and received Baliol back for a while. But it was too late now to revive Edward I.'s great plan. Stubbornly the Scots fought the English back, and in 1341 David Bruce returned to wear an independent crown. This support given by France to the Scots was, no doubt, the determining cause of the Hundred Years' War with France, which began in 1337 by Edward's claiming the throne in right of his mother, sister of the last king. This claim seems to a modern mind both ridiculous and insincere. But there were other meanings in it besides: to save the great Flemish cities from French control; to assert the newly declared "Lordship of the Seas" against Norman privateers; to strike a blow at the alliance of France with the Papacy, by a counter-alliance with the emperor and the German princes. But despite his array of allies, little was done in the first campaigns save the exploit of the sea-fight off Sluys, the first of England's glorious roll of naval victories. In 1345 the three years' truce was broken; next year was the year of Crecy, almost coincident with the great defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross and the capture of King David. The taking of Calais, in 1347, led to another truce, which lasted seven years.

The War with France.

Thus these years witnessed a mighty outburst of national energy by land and sea, at home and abroad, in warfare and in commerce. The wars were taken up by national patriotism, were fought with the national weapon, the long-bow, and were won by the national character of the new English army. The men who won Crecy and Poitiers were mostly freeholders, serving at good wages, but also for love of "their natural lords," who led them to battle: combining thus the best points of the feudal levy, the national militia, and the new principle of mercenaries. Compared with the tumultuous feudal host of the French, it was a professional army; compared with their reluctant serfs, it was an army that could well face odds of five to one. This triumph of infantry over heavy cavalry was the death-knell of feudalism. What the English archers did in the fourteenth century, the Swiss pikemen did in the fifteenth, and the Spanish swordsmen in the sixteenth. At last the mailed and mounted knight who had dominated Europe for four centuries was seen to be an anachronism.

Features of the Reign.

It was also during these years that the Commons can first be clearly seen sitting as a separate House of Parliament. It was the king's policy to flatter them into responsibility for the war; in 1338 he declared it "at the urgency of the Commons." But as early as 1340 the bill of war-costs had cooled their military ardour; they would make a fresh grant only as the price of a statute enacting that no charge or aid should be made henceforth save by Parliament. This Act

THE EARLIEST REPRESENTATION OF A KNIGHT OF THE GARTER.
(Sir William Fitzwarin, Wantage Church, Berks.)

completed the long series of steps, beginning from the forms used under the Norman kings, by which control over taxation passed from the Crown to the people. Edward's need of money forced him to these and other concessions. The same need obliged him to abandon the siege of Tournai, and brought him into undignified collision with his own ministers. He seems to have suspected them of intercepting funds which ought to have been sent out to him. He returned home suddenly, landed at the Tower at midnight, dismissed chancellor,

treasurer, judges, and other officials, and issued a series of violent charges against the two Stratfords. But the Peers stood by the archbishop; each Estate, Lords, Clergy, and Commons, urged grievances for which the king had to promise redress. He had to bow to the storm which he himself had raised; but six months later he coolly announced he had "dissembled, as he was justified in doing," and declared void the statutes just passed. This conduct marks the highest point reached by the royal prerogative in the fourteenth century, as the action of the Commons marks their attainment of an equal place beside the two other Estates. The re-opening of the war in 1345 led to heavy taxation; in 1347 the Florentine creditors of Edward were bankrupt; in 1348 the Commons refuse to be led into further approval of the war, and their statement of grievances rises to an unexampled tone of bitterness. But all political movements were suddenly stopped by the great plague which reached England in May, 1349. It fell like a thunderbolt upon national wars, political discontents, and social progress, paralysing them all. For two years Parliament and the Law Courts ceased, the corn rotted ungathered in the fields; and yet it was at this very time that Edward with lavish pomp was founding his Order of the Garter. Nothing could be a bitterer comment on the superficial view of this reign.

O. M. EDWARDS. The Struggle for Wales: 613–1284.

In the year 613 a great battle was fought beneath the walls of Chester between Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, and a host of Welsh princes, led by Iago, King of Gwynedd, and Selyf, King of Powys. Ethelfrith was victorious, and his victory was followed by the destruction of Chester, and by an Angle occupation of the plain from which its walls and towers rose. Chester had guarded the plain which divides the mountains of Wales from those of Strathclyde; upon the strength of its walls depended the existence of the union of the two Welsh regions. In 577 the battle of Deorham gave the Saxons the Severn plain, thereby separating Cornwall from Wales; the battle of Chester separated Wales from Strathclyde, and from 613 Wales has a distinct history of its own. For twenty years and more after the battle of Chester attempts were

made to reunite the two provinces; and the name of Cymry —"people of the same region"—was adopted by both sections of the Welsh people during this struggle. Though the national name survived in both provinces—Cymru and Cumberland—the reunion of north and west was regarded as hopeless early in the eighth century.

Welsh political history between 613 and 1284 consists of two great struggles—the struggle against the English, who were being gradually welded into one people; and the struggle of some able Welsh prince for an overlordship over his

Photo: J. Maclardy, Oswestry.

OFFA'S DYKE: NEAR OSWESTRY.

fellow-princes. The geography of Wales is a picture of its history—its mountains separate it from England, and at the same time make internal union almost impossible. Both English king and Welsh prince were engaged in a hopeless struggle against the mountains.

Wales and the Old English Kingdoms.

Between 613 and 1066 three English kingdoms struggled for the overlordship of England. Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex had the supremacy, each in its turn, for a hundred years; and with each of these, in the day of its power, Wales had to contend. Ethelfrith of Northumbria separated it from the north; and the victories of Cadwallon could not break

the power of the Northumbrian, or loose his hold on Chester. Offa of Mercia narrowed its boundaries on the east, and built a dyke from the mouth of the Dee to the mouth of the Taff. But it was during the supremacy of Wessex that the strife was bitter enough to force all Welshmen to unite against the Dane, who plundered the western shores, and against the West Saxon, who was ever trying to subdue the Welsh princes. Three great princes rose — Roderick the Great, Llywelyn ap Seisyllt, and Gruffydd [Griffith] ap Llywelyn. Roderick fell in battle against the English in 877; and the country swerved back to its old anarchy until Llywelyn ap Seisyllt arose. The battle of Aber Gwili[1] made him undisputed king of all Wales. He cleared the country of Dane and Saxon, and at his death, in 1027, he left Wales in prosperity and peace. After another interval of disintegration, Gruffydd ap Llywelyn rebuilt his father's power. The battles of Rhyd y Groes and Hereford made him not only supreme in Wales, but the terror of the English borders. He united with Elfgar of Mercia, and taxed the power of Harold to the utmost extent when Wessex was at its strongest. The generalship of Harold and the treachery of the Welsh princes, who were jealous of Gruffydd's supremacy, destroyed the work of the great Welsh king. "Gruffydd, who had been invincible," the Welsh chronicler says, "the head and shield of the Britons, was destroyed by his own men."

Wales after the Norman Conquest.

Harold had not succeeded in uniting England when William the Conqueror came in 1066, otherwise the Norman Conquest would not have been possible. It is Harold's policy that explains the ease with which the eastern and southern portions of Wales were conquered by the Norman adventurers. He had placed partisans of his own in power—the family of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn—and these could not hold their own against the partisans of the great Gruffydd's family without English help. While this struggle was at its height in Wales, the Norman barons began to possess the valleys. Hugh of Avranches was placed in Chester, from the walls of which he could cast greedy eyes on Welsh land to the west, just as he had coveted Breton lands from the height of Avranches. At Rhuddlan, the fierce Robert, half Norman, half Dane, strength-

[1] Near Carmarthen.

ened his position as the lord of the Vale of Clwyd, butchering the Welsh without mercy, slaughtering them like herds of cattle wherever he came up with them. The wise Roger of Montgomery obtained the castle and earldom of Shrewsbury, and his dominion was soon extended over the region of the Upper Severn and the Vyrnwy. From Hereford, its Norman

PICTON CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE.

earls penetrated along the valleys of the Wye and Usk to the Welsh mountains. The Clares and other families conquered the pleasant plains of Gwent and Morgannwg,[1] and built castles along the south coast, and along the west coast as far as Aberystwyth. About 1081 it seemed as if the whole of Wales would become Norman.

[1 Welsh names are usually accented on the penultimate syllable — "Morgánnoog."]

What remained was the wild land guarded by Snowdon, the Berwyn, and Plinlimon. Before this land could be conquered, two great Welsh princes turned back the Norman tide. In 1081 Gruffydd ap Cynan[1] became prince of North Wales, and Rhys ap Tewdwr prince of South Wales. Gruffydd ap Cynan caught Robert of Rhuddlan, and beheaded him. The Normans of Brecon killed Rhys ap Tewdwr [Tudor], but he was succeeded by his son Gruffydd ap Rhys, who was abler and more powerful than his father. Henry I. saw that the march lords could not hold their own, but he died before he could give them any effective help. During the anarchy of the reign of Stephen the Welsh princes became independent; and when Gruffydd ap Cynan and Gruffydd ap Rhys died, in 1137, their place was taken by Owen Gwynedd in North Wales and by Rhys ap Gruffydd in South Wales.

Wales and Henry II.

When Henry II. came to the throne, he saw the dangerous power of the two Welsh princes. He tried to break the power of Owen Gwynedd by detaching his brother Cadwalader from him. He then determined to crush the Welsh princes at one blow; he marched along the eastern slopes of Berwyn, while Owen Gwynedd, Rhys ap Gruffydd, and the minor princes were encamped on the western slopes. The storms and the mountains fought against the English king, and he was forced to leave Wales.

Between the death of Henry II. and the accession of Edward I. the Welsh princes lost their last chance of establishing the independence of their country. Owen Gwynedd died in 1170, and Rhys ap Gruffydd in 1197, and their deaths were followed by the refusal of the princes to obey their successors. The Norman lords found themselves strong enough to renew their encroachments, and the Welsh boundaries again began to recede.

Wales and the English Church.

It was during this time of weakness that an attempt was made to win back the ecclesiastical independence of Wales. Before the end of the twelfth century Wales had been subjected to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. This had been done very gradually. When the newly converted English decided at the Synod of Whitby, in 664, to accept Roman rather than British Christianity, the Church of England and

[1 C in Welsh is hard—"Kinnan."]

the Church of Wales were separated by many important differences—differences which found outward expression in tonsure and the date of Easter (Vol. I., p. 231). In 809 the Welsh Church yielded, and the schism was at an end. The next step was to subject the Welsh sees to Canterbury. In 1107 a Bishop of Llandaff was consecrated at Canterbury; in 1115 a Norman was appointed to the bishopric of St. Davids; and before 1143 the Archbishop of Canterbury had claimed jurisdiction over all Wales. Between 1198 and 1204 Giraldus Cambrensis made a last ineffectual struggle to secure the independence of the Welsh Church by reviving the metropolitanship of St. Davids, which was erroneously supposed to have been once an archbishopric and the metropolitan church of Wales. Giraldus's effort came too soon even for temporary success, coming as it did a few years before the rise of the power of Llewellyn the Great. An interesting combination it would have been—the greatest organiser Wales has seen, and the gifted writer whose descriptions are still in many points vivid descriptions of his people (I. p. 506).

GRIFFITH'S ESCAPE FROM THE TOWER OF LONDON. (MS. Roy. 14 C. vii.)

By 1210 Llywelyn ab Iorwerth—"Llewellyn the Great"—grandson of Owen Gwynedd, had established a supremacy over the parts of Wales that had not been conquered by the Normans. The Wales of Llywelyn included Anglesey and the country to the west of the Snowdon, Berwyn, and Plinlimon ranges. When his position in Wales was secured, he united with the English barons, and his rights were acknowledged by the English king in the Great Charter. When Llywelyn died, in 1240, the castles of Wales were his castles, and the princes of Wales were his vassals. After a short interval of disintegration, another Llywelyn—"Llywelyn ap Gruffydd," or "The Last Llewellyn"—became Prince of all Wales. He pursued his grandfather's policy of first

securing his own position in Wales, and then of weakening the power of the English Crown by assisting the English barons. A marriage was arranged between him and Eleanor, the daughter of Simon de Montfort, the leader of the barons. When the barons were defeated by Edward at the battle of Evesham, Llywelyn had to make terms with the English prince. His betrothed wife, Eleanor, had been captured by the English at sea, and he remembered that his father had died in his attempt to escape from an English prison.

Edward I. in Wales.

When Edward became King of England, in 1272, he saw that the power of Llywelyn must be crushed, were it only in order to make the English barons obedient. He demanded homage of the Welsh prince, and homage was refused. Edward took advantage of a quarrel between Llywelyn and his brother David; and by 1274 Llywelyn was master of the Snowdon district only. The English administration of the rest of Llywelyn's country caused great discontent, and eventually drove the Welsh to rebellion. David began to fear that the Welsh princes would be utterly destroyed, and returned to his allegiance to Llywelyn. In 1282 Llywelyn and David declared war, and the former hastened to South Wales. The fall of Llywelyn in a skirmish near Builth made the last Welsh struggle for independence a hopeless one. Many of the petty princes took the English side, and the conquest of Wales became an easy matter. David was hunted down and subjected to the terrible penalties of treason; the precious portion of the true cross and the crown of Arthur were carried away. At Rhuddlan—whose ivied towers still stand on the bank of the Clwyd—the Statute of Wales was passed, in 1284. As far as possible the old Welsh law was retained, but the administration became perfectly English. The country was divided into six shires—Carnarvon, Anglesey, Merioneth, Flint, Cardigan, and Carmarthen—and governed in exactly the same way as the English counties. The king's sheriffs took the place of the petty Welsh princes, and the power of Llywelyn was vested in the king's eldest son as Prince of Wales.

By 1284 the subjection of Wales was complete. Archbishop Peckham visited the dioceses; Edward I. passed among the mountains as their lord. The growth of towns was en-

RHUDDLAN CASTLE.

Photo: Charles Vaughan, Acton, W.

couraged, and Wales would perhaps have been eventually assimilated to England, had it not been for the region of great march earldoms that lay between the two countries.

CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY. The Church and the Crown.

THE history of religion in England, between the accession of Edward I. and the Black Death, is strictly a part of the general story of Christendom. As on the Continent, so in England, this is the age of triumphant Catholicism passing into decline. The thirteenth century, the summer of Latin Christianity, the mid-winter of Islam, unified the civilisation which in the twelfth century seemed moving towards the many-sided and divergent activity of modern life. Abelard's method, and his tendency to free thought, but used in an orthodox sense, reappeared in Aquinas, Albert, and Duns, who used the language and methods of reason to establish orthodoxy. The friars and the inquisitors subdued the heretics and stirred the worldly to a religious revival. The Crusades languished in Palestine; but on one side the Crusading movement extended the religious empire of old Rome to the new, and, on the other, won back from the Moslem all Spain except Granada. The Church of Western Europe lost Byzantium in 1261; but in 1272–4, as Edward of England returned from Acre to London, all the islands and northern coasts of the Mediterranean, except a strip from Malaga to Cadiz, were Catholic lands once more, as in the days of Justinian. The Roman Christendom that had been centralised by Hildebrand was at the height of its power in the era which begins with Innocent III. and closes with Boniface VIII. The Papacy seemed victorious over all its older rivals—over the great Patriarchs, the bishops of Ravenna and Rheims, Cologne and Canterbury, Milan and Compostella; over the emperors, once, like Charles the Great or Henry III., the patrons, and now, after the days of Frederic II., the German instruments of the Apostolic See; even over national Churches, such as the English. A more serious struggle was to come; with the rising monarchies of the Christian Republic, with the towns and Parliaments of the new full-grown nations, France and England.

This contest was provoked by Boniface VIII. In 1274,

under Gregory X., the Pope seemed the friend of all his spiritual children; at the second Council of Lyons in this year even the Greek Church was for a moment reconciled to Rome. On all sides Latin Christendom was expanding; Ice-

A THIRTEENTH CENTURY BISHOP. (MS. Roy. 2 A. xxii.)

land and Greenland had been brought into its federation since the eleventh century; in the thirteenth, Franciscan missionaries preceded Marco Polo across Tartary to China, while Genoese seamen attempted to open up the African coasts and the Sea of Darkness; the Teutonic Knights began to convert

Prussia; the German Hansa started their trading centre at Novgorod (I., p. 651).

The Aim of Edward I.

But during the life of Edward I. of England this expansion of Christian States came into conflict, on a far larger scale than in the twelfth century, with the Christian Church. His archbishops, Peckham and Winchelsey, struggle against a kingly overlord, as Becket had struggled against Henry II., as the Popes had struggled against the German kings, and were now, with Boniface VIII., struggling against nationalism in general.

All through the earlier part of the thirteenth century, from St. Hugh of Lincoln to Grosseteste, the Church of England[1] had pretty well expressed the mind of the people of England; the clergy, oppressed both by Pope and king, had led the popular movement for responsible, representative government. But now Edward's ideal of a strong island-empire, friendly with Rome but independent of outside power, aimed at pressing religion, with other interests, into common subjection to a national unity expressed in himself. He was resolved to have no divided sovereignty. As far as the clerical estate stood for an "imperium in imperio," his policy was to degrade it. Not only was Rome to be kept at arm's length, and all its claims to homage and fealty and Scottish overlordship rejected, as William the Conqueror had rejected the Papal pretensions of his day; but the hold of the native English Church over land and chattels was to be shaken, its power of aggrandisement to be checked, its spiritual courts subjected to the law of the land.

I. The history of Church and State under Edward I. is chiefly concerned with three legal enactments—the Statute of Mortmain in 1279, the writ Circumspecte Agatis[2] in 1285, and the confirmation of the Charters in 1297. The separate

[1] A body completely organised, with a hierarchy minutely regulated, legislating for itself, taxing itself, in its recognised assemblies, judicative and executive, and, though not as a corporation holding common property, yet composed of a great number of persons, each holding property. As an estate of the realm, its clergy acknowledge the headship of the king; as part of the Western Church, that of the Pope (Stubbs, Const. Hist., III., c. 19).

[2] Its opening words, *i.e.* "Deal circumspectly" (in all matters concerning the jurisdiction and rights in things spiritual of the Bishop of Norwich and his clergy): an order to the Judges of Assize.]

and later battle of Pope and king over Scottish suzerainty, the ruin of the Templars in 1307–12, and the action of the Church under Edward II. and Edward III., either do not properly concern English religion at all, or belong to the purely social part of this section rather than to ecclesiastical politics.

(1) And first of all as to mortmain. Before the Norman Conquest a licence from the Crown seems to have been **Mortmain.**

EDWARD I. CONFIRMING THE CHARTER OF MARCH 8, 1300. (MS. Claud. D. II.)

expected for alienation into the "dead hand" of a spiritual corporation; but the alarm now felt lest all England should become Church property, enabled Edward, in 1279, to forbid such alienation absolutely. Land so granted was in forfeit to the lord, or, in his default, to the king, and the original law against grants in mortmain was made more stringent in 1285. The clerical resistance seems to have fallen back on legal evasions.

(2) The second of Edward's restraints provoked a more open defiance. Perhaps all churchmen felt satisfied enough to be conservative on the land question—here they held the ground, and were only just withheld from monopoly; but in jurisdiction it was time to make a stand. In spite of Henry II.'s apparent failure, the civil courts had steadily gained on the episcopal. Before the death of Henry III. laymen had in great part replaced churchmen as royal **Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.**

justices; now, under Edward I., the Primate admitted the abstract right of the King's Bench to issue prohibitions. The Statute of Westminster the First, in 1275, was construed to direct that clerks charged with felony should not be surrendered to their ordinary till an inquest of the charge had been made; if found guilty, their real and personal estate was to go to the Crown. Ten years later, in answer to a petition of prelates for some relaxation of royal prohibitions, Edward, by his writ Circumspecte Agatis, while seeming to guarantee the actual rights of spiritual jurisdiction, practically evaded the Church's claim in temporal contracts. He did not renounce these contracts, and his judges accordingly claimed them all as the exclusive property of the royal courts. More expressly the king forbade the bishops to infringe his prerogatives by touching cases of breach of contract and rights of patronage.

Taxation of the Church.

(3) Thus both in land and jurisdiction the older theocratic tendencies of society found their limit; but the lawyers' third attempt, to tax the clergy at the royal will, was a failure. Edward was apparently resolved to leave to his spirituality only a pre-eminence of money burdens. Not only did he gather representatives of the ordained in a central Parliament with the unordained, but he procured (about 1291) a new and higher valuation of Church property,[1] real and personal, and appointed commissioners for all the monastic, cathedral, and collegiate treasuries. Armed with this fresh knowledge, in 1291, under a Crusading agreement with Pope Nicholas IV., he demanded the tithe of ecclesiastical income, gathered it in for the Holy War, and three years afterwards, in the brief pontificate of the Hermit Celestine V., seized the opportunity to require, in full Parliament at Westminster, one-half of the revenues of the Church. William Montfort, Dean of St. Paul's, sent to remonstrate, fell dead of fright at the king's feet; in the Convocation held within the royal palace, Sir John Havering proclaimed, in Edward's name, "If any oppose the king's will, let him stand up that he may be noted as an enemy of the king's peace." The Primate, Winchelsey, was

[1] At £204,143 19s. 2d., without counting the goods of the Bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, and of Christ Church, Canterbury (separately reckoned: Winchester and Lincoln, £3,977 15s. 7d.; Christ Church, Canterbury, £355 9s. 2d.).

in Rome, and the clergy gave way for the time, awaiting his return. Again the tax was gathered, and next year Edward's cherished design of including the national Church in the national assembly was realised in the Model Parliament of 1295. He had summoned the proctors of the First Estate to York and Northampton in 1283, to London in 1294; now the clerical grants, his main support, were to be an item in the supplies given by the whole nation in one Parliament, in one place, at one time, to the ruler of all estates in the realm.

Convocation

The clergy, however, soon refused to vote save in their own clerical house and by separate grants. This they ultimately gained; from the middle of the fourteenth century Convocation always sits apart;[1] and the king was obliged to moderate his demands. But now, in 1296, Boniface VIII., by the Bull Clericis Laicos, forbade the clergy to pay taxes of any kind to the laity, and so provoked the crisis of 1297. In full Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds, Winchelsey, on behalf of Convocation, refused to vote any further moneys. Edward, in answer, placed the royal seal on all Church trusts and storehouses; and on the repeated refusal of the Synod at St. Paul's, the Chief Justice formally outlawed the whole body of the clergy, and the barony of the archbishop was seized for the king's use.

Meanwhile the nobles and merchants had likewise broken with Edward; Scotland was rising under Wallace; and the war in Flanders compelled the king's instant departure from England. But he dared not leave his throne and his son amid universal discontent. Winchelsey, who had led the constitutional as well as the clerical cause, was the first to profit by the royal repentance. Edward restored his barony, gave the heir of the kingdom into his charge, and prepared to renew the Charter and respect the liberties of the Church. Like Elizabeth in 1601, he confessed himself misled; it had been in sorrowful reluctance that he had burdened his subjects. The Primate discovered that, though the Pope's Bull forbade

[1] In 1341 the Crown—acquiescing in the rule that clerical tenths (£20,000 on Pope Nicholas's valuation of 1291) should be granted in provincial Convocations—ceased to insist on the attendance of the clerical proctors in Parliament, a custom which in the fifteenth century ceased altogether.

churchmen to obey a royal demand for money, it did not forbid them to volunteer their aid. The king, who just before embarking for Flanders, had begun the seizure of a third of clerical temporalities and forbidden the excommunication of his tax-collectors, had been foiled by the alliance of Pope and Primate, clergy and nobles, Scotland and France, against his dictatorship ; and, in that alliance, the Church again appeared as the champion of freedom.[1]

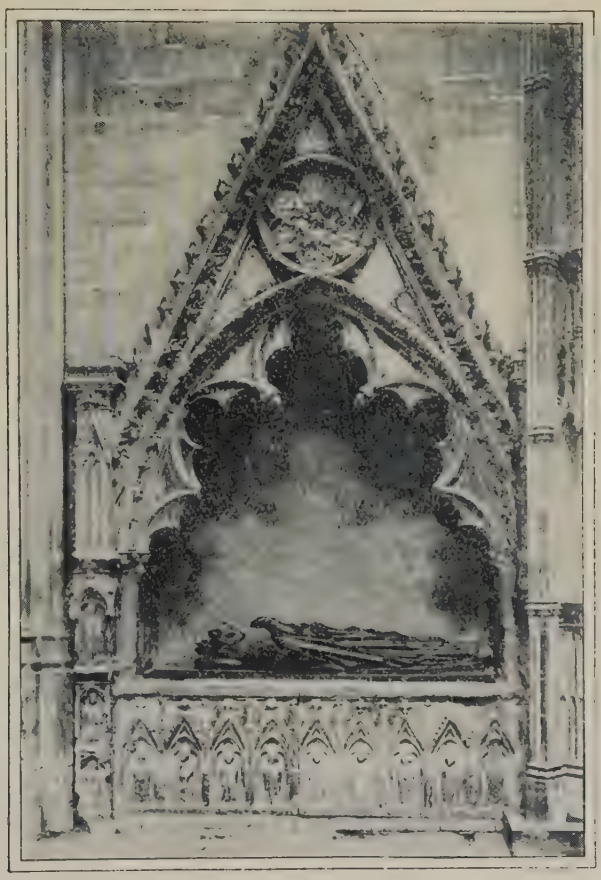
After Boniface had fallen, and the Papacy had been moved to Avignon (p. 214), Winchelsey was prosecuted in the Papal Curia, and the old alliance of Pope and king, broken by the Bull Clericis Laicos, was renewed with Clement V., who absolved Edward from his oaths of 1297, and suspended the archbishop. Yet the last years of the reign are not without anti-Papal laws. Long after the Pope's claims of lordship over Scotland had been repudiated in 1301, the Statute of Carlisle, in 1370, attacked the abuses of foreign patronage, "provisions," "first-fruits," and "Peter's pence."

Edward I. reversed the policy of Henry III. by subjecting the Papal interests to the royal in the national Church. With this aim, he compelled the renunciation by his clergy of all words in Papal Bulls prejudicial to the Crown's authority, and practically suppressed the elective rights of his cathedral chapters. The weakness of Edward II. enabled Clement V. to put his nominees into English benefices, as Boniface VIII. had tried to do at York both before and at the time of his jubilee in 1300. Unlike Archbishop Romanus at that crisis, Edward II. played into the Pope's hands, and his father's policy of a Holy League in which the Pope should serve the king was not restored till the reign of Edward III. In conclusion, let us take three typical instances of the struggle of the Roman and Royalist parties with the English in the national Church of this time:—

(1) In 1282 Peckham found one Meuling, a non-resident prelate of foreign extraction, Bishop of Lichfield, ordered him back to his see, and appointed the Archdeacon of Derby as an English-speaking suffragan, requiring the "Pope's man" to pay him one hundred marks a year and to consult him on all official acts.

[1] As in 1341, when Archbishop Stratford won peers the right of trial by their peers.

(2) In 1333 Archbishop Meopham died of vexation partly caused by innumerable abuses of this sort, all springing from the same cause, the alliance of the Roman and English Courts. The abuses he was powerless to check till the league



TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM.
(*Canterbury Cathedral.*)

itself was broken up, and so they flourished, as we are told of a certain diocese in 1326 :—

(3) "Out of fifty prebends in the gift of the Bishop of Salisbury, twenty-eight had been 'provided' by the late and the present Pope—not more than three of their holders ever

resided—and, to crown all, eight more were waiting under promise of prebends at their first vacancy."

The Church and the Nation.

II. The social aspect of Church history is the chief interest of these latter years (1297–1348) after the close of the struggle with Edward I. The higher clergy became more and more pliant as they felt their growing dependence on the Crown; the lower, except perhaps the parish priests, were fast losing all the spirit of the last revival of religion. Not a few traces of anti-clerical spirit among gentry and commons appear in the early fourteenth century; it is not simply against Papal interference or monastic overgrowth, it is the beginning of a revolt against clerical influence in politics and society.

Edward I. had found an episcopal regency on his return from Palestine; next year Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, leaves the chancery to Bishop Robert Burnell. Yet episcopal influence decays during the reign; on the board of arbitrators on the Scottish claims nominated by the king in 1296 there are only four bishops. Again, the protests of the Lincoln and Carlisle Parliaments, in 1301 and 1307, against Papal (that is, hierarchical) claims over Scotland and Papal provisions in England remind us of the most independent language of the thirteenth century. Far more notable is the Canterbury riot of May, 1327, against clerical privilege; the Ilchester riot of 1348 against the Bishop of Bath and Wells; the Commons' petition of 1344 against clerical legislation for laymen; the appointment of the first lay Chancellor in 1340; the general and growing reluctance to pay tithes. The suppression of the Templars first foreshadows the general dissolution of monasteries in 1536–39; and the increasing dislike of the friars, and in a measure of all the "religious," warns us of a coming revolt not against abuses of the medieval religion so much as against that religion in itself. Yet in politics, in education, in care of the poor, in general influence, down to the smallest details of life, the Church, even in her decline, still penetrates to every corner of society.

First among the proofs of waning clerical power let us take the scene at Canterbury in Edward III.'s first year. The Prior of Christ Church was summoned to help the bailiff and

citizens in sending twelve men-at-arms to Newcastle against Robert Bruce. Lands held in free alms (frankalmoigne), replied the Prior, could not be held liable to military service.[1] On this, bailiff and citizens held a meeting "in the field by the House of Preaching Friars" and swore to nine articles. First, "To pull down all the tenements in Burgate down to the Mill." Second, "No one, under penalties imposed by the city, to live in the Prior's Houses." Third, "All rents of 200 marks and upwards to be levied for the city." Fourth, "No one to buy, sell, or exchange drink or victuals with the monastery." Fifth, "All carts and horses from the Christ Church manors carrying victuals or stock for the monastery to be seized and held with their contents." Sixth, "Any monks (even the Prior) coming out of the monastery to be spoiled of goods and clothes and to be attached." Seventh, "To dig a trench at the great gate of the monastery, so that no one should go in or out." Eighth, "To allow no stranger to enter the church, except on oath to offer no gift, even at S. Thomas' Shrine." Ninth, "Each citizen swore that he would have from the same shrine, of the gold rings hung up by pilgrims, one for each finger of each hand." So at Ilchester, in 1348, the Bishop of Bath and Wells was kept prisoner in the church for several hours, and his servants were beaten and wounded in the churchyard by the mob. These quarrels were tided over, but the records remain to illustrate the general rebellion against clerical privilege, and especially the weariness, expressed by Gregory X. in 1274, of the "unbridled multitude" of the religious, and by many thoughtful observers of the pride, avarice, riches, and worldliness of many bishops and monks. They exhibit also the alarm of fourteenth-century provincial councils at the grudging payment of tithes. The clergy, it is ordered, are to take away their tenth sheaf by the same road as the farmer. Sometimes they had been forced to cart on bypaths, not allowed to take any but the last shock left, and that often trampled by cattle. Personal tithes are to be paid out of the profits of trade and labour, even from mines.

But it was in jurisdiction that the "laicising" movement

[1 In theory, the clergy were held to satisfy all obligations by their spiritual work, and were said to hold their land "in free alms."]

The Church Courts.

was strongest. The Church courts were the Church's worst enemy, and their abuses were among the first marks of the attacks of the New Learning—of men like Chaucer and Wycliffe. Matrimonial and testamentary causes, actions for recovery of "spiritual payments" and for "cognisance of vice,"

AN ECCLESIASTICAL COURT. (MS. Add. 15,274.)

and "correction of manners"[1]—these were the subject-matter of the bishops' courts, vaguely limited by the writs of Edward I., and it was against these as touching the laity, in any point, that the Commons petitioned in 1344, "That no motion made

[1] Spiritual payments—tithes and Church fees; moral cases—heresy, slander and usury, as well as adultery, etc.

by the clergy to the injury of the laity might be granted without examination before the king and the lords." The dominance of the prelates in the House of Lords alone prevented an open breach between the Church law and that of the land. But as the protest of 1344 is a sign of the coming end of clerical legislation for the laity, so the Mortmain statute of 1279 and the Carlisle petition against Provisors in 1307 are signs of the future jurisdiction of lay courts over the Church, the system of the Tudor revolution.

Next comes the first faint sign of the official anti-monastic movement on the part of European and Christian States—the first warning of a coming disestablishment of all monasticism.

The Attack on the Templars.

It was in the autumn of 1307 that Edward II. was urged by Philip of France, and commanded by Clement V., to arrest the Knights Templars within his realm, as had been done in France. At first he wavered; wrote to Portugal, Castille, Sicily, and Aragon (December 4) expressing his doubts, to the Pope (December 10) stating his belief in the faith and morals of the Order; but on December 20 he gave way, arrested all the Templars of England, and examined them minutely on the Papal charges. By the end of 1312 the military monks "of the Temple of God and of Solomon" had been suppressed throughout Christendom, if not "by way of justice," as the Pope said, at any rate "by way of expediency," and the bulk of their estates transferred to their rivals of the Hospital. Were this all, it might pass as a mere piece of statecraft or the natural result of the final loss of Palestine in 1291; but the tales told by English witnesses have a social value as bearing on the national hate of secrecy, of foreign ways, of organisations in any way independent of the community and its rulers. The ruin of the military monks, who affected to disregard English law as subjects of a foreign master, was typical of the approaching fate of the alien priories under Henry V., of the dissolution of all monkery, brought about by much the same causes in 1536–39. "Rome only do ye seek," says Glanvill; "Rome only shall destroy you." "We see you are but half our subjects," ran the sentence of Henry VIII. Now by seven witnesses it was proved against the English Templars that the reception-rite was secret, by three more that the secret could not be discussed among themselves,

far less among outsiders; four others swore they were forbidden to confess save to priests of their own Order. Another had heard of dreadful secrets: in Syria they received knights with blasphemy, spitting on the Cross; some worshipped a cat-idol, a brazen head, a calf—others wrote and read that "Christ died, not for our sins, but for His own."

One Robert of Oteringham, a Franciscan, had been at Westerby twenty years before, when the Templars were

A DEFENDER OF THE FAITH
(*St. Robert's Chapel, Knaresborough.*)

arranging some relics; he had looked through a hole in the wall and seen a blaze. Next day he asked a brother what saint they worshipped; he turned pale: "On thy life, ask no more." Another Templar, one Robert Bayser, had been heard groaning in the fields, "That ever I was born to deny Christ and hold to the Devil!" There was a story of a Templar's little boy, asked by his father if he would join the

Order, answering that he had seen a postulant forced at the sword's point to apostatise. At this the father murdered him. The grandfather of one witness entered the Order in full vigour, and in three days was dead; a certain Walter Savage had likewise disappeared after two years; Adam de Heton

Photo: York & Sons, Notting Hill, W.

TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON.

knew of a boys' watchword, "Beware of the kisses of the Templars"; William de Berney had heard of one of their secret doctrines, "That man has no more a living soul than a dog." One Roger, rector of Godmersham, had been warned by a brother, Stephen Quenteril, "If you could be Grand Master, yet never join us. We have three vows, known only

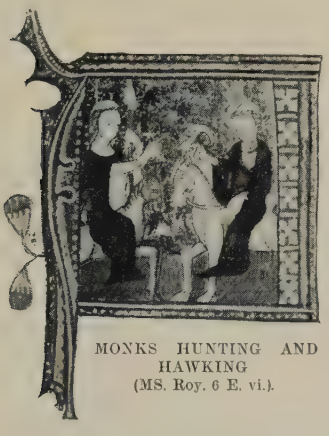
to God, the Devil, and ourselves." The vicar of Sutton had heard of a priest-Templar forbidden to consecrate in the mass; and a foreigner, one John de Gertia, had heard an old, old story from a woman named "Cacocaca, who lived near St. Giles, in London, hard by some elms," of secret, black and midnight chapters at Dinclee. There they worshipped a black idol with shining eyes and held the foulest orgies. William Bachelor, before he disappeared, had been heard to exclaim, "I have lost my soul in the Temple." Several servants of Templars, caught spying, had been offered death or admission as the only choice, while refractory brethren were sewn in sacks and so drowned. Three deserters from the Order closed the evidence with personal revelations. They had been admitted with blasphemy, apostasy, and unnatural vice; men stood over them with drawn swords and forced them to deny Christ and to confess only the "Great God." The late Grand Preceptor, Brian le Jay, was a traitor to the Crusaders, a scoffer at the faith, a secret Moslem. He "held the least hair in a Saracen's beard worth more than his whole body." The shuddering abhorrence of ordinary Englishmen was felt in the proverbial question and answer, "Are you a Templar? Then, were you in the belfry of Paul's, you would not see more misery than will be yours ere you die."

The Templars Suppressed.

On these grounds the proudest and richest among the Orders of religious chivalry was suppressed and ruined; but danger hardly less imminent threatened the preaching and begging friars. As the spiritual Franciscans developed their own principles and became the Fraticelli, they drew upon themselves the hate of Popes and kings, of all established interests; as the lower minds gave up their founder's ideal and sank into Christian fakirs, they seemed to degrade the common, the religious, life as it had never been degraded before. Every reformer like Langland, every man of the world like Chaucer, or reconstructive theorist like Wycliffe, came to regard the mendicant Orders as the readiest mark of attack. As early as 1274 Gregory X. had restrained their "unbridled multitude" to "all the four orders" noted in Piers Plowman. Boniface VIII., in 1301, forbade them to preach in parish churches without leave from the incumbent. Before

The Friars in Danger.

the death of Henry III. Matthew Paris declared that friars had become more debased in one generation than Benedictine monks in three or four centuries. By the time of the Black Death their fall seemed only a question of time.



MONKS HUNTING AND HAWKING (MS. Roy. 6 E. vi.).

Feeling against the Monks.

The Templars had gone; the friars, even the monks, were going. Of this wider anti-monastic spirit and its spread among all classes under the Edwards there is evidence enough, of which we have noticed some traces, and can only add, in this place, two illustrations: first, in the marked falling-off of religious foundations; second, in the history of Merton, the first Oxford College.

During the fourteenth century there were only sixty-four new monasteries and friaries, against more than 800 of older date (440 of the twelfth, and 296 of the thirteenth century); and even as early as 1274 Bishop Walter of Rochester, the ex-Chancellor, laid down that the fellows of Merton College, which he had just moved from his Surrey birthplace to the great English University, lost all the benefits of his endowment if they entered any order of religion. He knew how large a proportion, not only of the knights' fees but also of parish livings, had been appropriated to monasteries and chapters by this time; and he knew that, in consequence of this appropriation, a great part of England was not provided with the regular Church system, but served with substitutes; and that from the overgrowth of the "Regulars" and their abnormal and unnational system had arisen an undergrowth of practical abuses—absentee

UNDUE INFLUENCE (MS. Roy. 6 E. vii.).

and pluralist "vicars," the farming of benefices, the new chantry system,[1] the consequent decay of local charities and local interest, all tending to produce a low type of hired mass-priest, in whom there was little of the pastor, the student, or the gentleman.

Like Wykeham, Waynflete, and Wolsey, Merton seems to have aimed at a reformation of religion through education and works of charity, and his method was steadily followed by the wiser churchmen of the later Middle Ages. By the year 1400 there had been founded seventy-eight colleges and one hundred and ninety-two hospitals, and the fifteenth century added sixty schools and charitable foundations, as against no more than eight religious houses, to the roll.

Decline of the Church.

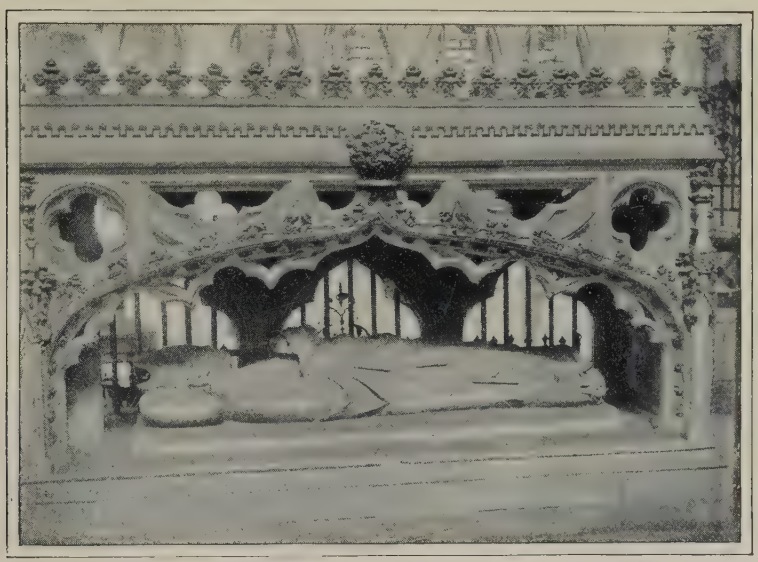
In general, however, from the death of Edward II. the social decline of the Church was undeniable—in its relaxing hold upon politics and national life; in the deadness of its monastic orders (there is not one distinguished abbot in this time); in the beginnings of avowed dissent from its creed and system and of over-luxuriance in its architecture; in the decline of its missionary and Crusading spirit, as evidenced by the new plan of "vicarious" pilgrimage; in the growth of superstitious abuses; and in the severance of the clergy from the new spirit in science and letters and faith, foretold in the prophetic work of Roger Bacon, of Chaucer, and of Wycliffe.

The Church and the Masses.

But the Black Death marks the beginning of a far more serious severance—of the Church from the people—from the social movements which gather round the Peasant Revolt of 1381. Before this the clergy had not only helped to "enforce the status and affirm the duty" of labour, but had engaged in the same industry and felt the same interests as the mass of the people. Clergy and laity as yet were a "community"; and, however much the union may have been impaired, it was only now beginning to break up. On the other side, the parish priesthood in Chaucer's day, as in the sixteenth century, was the abiding strength of the Church, the permanent and popular section of the hierarchy. And even in the early fourteenth century a movement was beginning towards a real reformation of religion. In education, in

[1] One of the earliest chantries seems to be at St. Helen's, Worcester, 1288.

vernacular carols, hymns, and books of devotion, in works of charity, in readjusted dioceses, and extended parish organisation, the Church was slowly and tentatively adapting means to ends. Retrenchment was half the battle; and with 8,000 parish churches and some 40,000 clergy[1] of all grades and drawn from every class (including monks and friars), with revenues able to bear one-third of the national taxation, with almost a monopoly of learning, except for the bailiff class and a few lay politicians, poets, and story-tellers, with



EFFIGY OF BISHOP WALTER DE STAPLEDON.
(*Exeter Cathedral.*)

the sacred Latin still generally understood—for even the political songs are still in a "macaroni" of Latin and English[2] —with all this to work upon, the Church might fairly hope to reform itself, to save all by giving up a part. Oxford and Cambridge Universities, the great training schools for the clergy, were taking more organised shape in the new College

[1] 29,161 about 1340, without mendicants—a number greatly reduced by the Black Death, but making 1 in every 52 of the people over 14 years of age.

[2] For examples of songs in a "macaronic" verse, *cf.* carol of A.D. 1500–30 :—

"Now make us joye in this Festé,
In quo Xtus natus est,
A patre unigenitus
Syng we to hym and say wel come,
Veni Redemptor Gentium."

foundations (p. 94), the first of which, after Merton College, was that of Bishop Stapledon of Exeter, in 1314. Even more significant is the clergy school of Bishop Sawbridge, founded in Winchester between 1282–1305, and the vigorous attempts to enforce a regular system of catechising by the parish priests between 1270–1370. The provision for lepers, orphans, and destitute poor by hospitals and alms; the rights of "corrody" [1]

Photo: Poulton & Son, London.

LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

or free maintenance in religious houses, and the use of nunneries as boarding schools for girls; the common-sense permission granted to labourers to work on the Holy Days, so that, on the average, 308 out of the 365 were available; the English versions of the Psalms, Gospels, and Epistles in 1275, in 1320, and (by Richard Rolle of Hampole) in 1349 (p. 128); the new cathedrals and churches of the Decorated style, *e.g.* St. Paul's, London, finished in 1315 by Segrave; St. David's

[1 Corrody or corody (Medieval Latin *corrodium*, provision) was a privilege of founders and benefactors.]

Cathedral and Episcopal Palace, between 1328 and 1347; and Lichfield, the best existing type of a fourteenth-century English church—all these things are evidence that the Church, even at this time, and under such a Primate as Reynolds, was still alive.

The avarice of churchmen, the abuses of the Bishops' courts, the constant Papal interference, and the compulsory clerical celibacy leading to concubinage were the chief drawbacks on the Church's usefulness. The higher clergy were, on the whole, pure, and men like Kilwardby, Peckham, and Winchelsey were worthy leaders of English religion; but as the doctrine grew fixed that local or national reformation was heretical without the instance of Rome, men grew tired "both of the evils of the age and their remedies."

F. W. MAITLAND. Legal Reform under Edward I.

On the death of Henry III. there followed some eighteen years which even at this day may seem to us the most brilliant eighteen years in the whole history of English legis ation. At all events, if we are to find a comparable period we must look forward, for five hundred years and more, to the age of the first Reform Bill. Year by year King Edward I. in his Parliaments made laws on a grand scale. His statutes will not be in our eyes very lengthy documents; but they are drastic, and they are permanent. They deal with all sorts of matters, public and private, but in particular with those elementary parts of the law of property and the law of civil procedure which English legislators have, as a general rule, been well content to leave alone. Just for this reason they are exceedingly permanent; they become fundamental; elaborate edifices of gloss and comment are reared upon them. To this day, despite all the reforms of the present century, we have to look to them, and the interpretation which has been set upon them, for some of the most elementary principles of our land law. When all has been said that can be said for the explanation of this unique outburst of legislation, it still remains a marvellous thing.

The Legal Profession.

A professional class of English temporal lawyers was just beginning to form itself. We say "of English temporal lawyers," because for more than a century past there had

been "legists" and "decretists"[1] in the land. These legists and decretists constituted a professional class; they held themselves out as willing to plead the causes of those who would pay their fees. They did a large business, for the clergy of the time were extremely litigious. The bishop who was not perennially engaged in interminable disputes with two or three wealthy religious houses was either a very fortunate or a very careless guardian of the rights of his see. And all the roads of ecclesiastical litigation led to Rome. Appeals to the Pope were made at every stage of every cause, and the most famous Italian lawyers were retained as advocates. The King of England, who was often involved in contests about the election of bishops—contests which would sooner or later come before the Roman Curia—kept Italian canonists[2] in his pay. Young Englishmen were sent to Bologna in order that they might learn the law of the Church. The University of Oxford was granting degrees in civil and canon law, the University of Cambridge followed her example. There was no lack of ecclesiastical lawyers; indeed, the wisest and most spiritual of the clergy thought that there were but too many of them, and deplored that theology was neglected in favour of a more lucrative science. And what we might call an ecclesiastical "Bar" had been formed. The canonist who wished to practise in a bishop's court had to satisfy the bishop of his competence, and to take an oath obliging him to practise honestly. The tribunals of the Church knew both the "advocate" (who pleads on behalf of a client) and the "procurator" or "proctor" (who represents his client's person and attends to his cause).

Attorneys and Barristers.

In course of time two groups similar to these grew up round the king's court. We see the "attorney" (who answers to the ecclesiastical proctor) and the "pleader," "narrator," or "countor" (who answers to the ecclesiastical advocate). But the formation of these classes of professional lawyers has not been easy. Ancient law does not readily admit that one man can represent another; in particular, it does not readily admit

[1 Professional exponents of Roman civil and ecclesiastical law respectively, the latter consisting largely of Papal decrees.]

[2 Authorities on ecclesiastical law, which was gradually codified into a body called canon law.]

that one man can represent another in litigation. So long as procedure is extremely formal, so long as all depends on the due utterance of sacramental words, it does not seem fair that you should put an expert in your place to say those words for you. My adversary has, as it were, a legal interest in my ignorance or stupidity. If I cannot bring my charge against him in due form, that charge ought to fail; at all events, he cannot justly be called upon to answer another person, some subtle and circumspect pleader, whom I have hired. Thus the right to appoint an attorney who will represent my person in court, and win or lose my cause for me, appears late in the day. It spreads outwards from the king. From of old the king must be represented by others in his numerous suits. This right of his he can confer upon his subjects—at first as an exceptional favour, and afterwards by a general rule. In Henry III.'s reign this process has gone thus far:—A litigant in the king's court may appoint an attorney to represent him in the particular action in which he is for the time being engaged: he requires no special licence for this; but if a man wishes to appoint prospectively a general attorney, who will represent him in all actions, the right to do this he must buy from the king, and he will not get it except for some good cause. The attorneys of this age are by no means always professional men of business. Probably every free and lawful man may act as the attorney of another; indeed, shocking as this may seem to us, we may, not very unfrequently, find a wife appearing in court as her husband's attorney.

The other "branch of the profession" grows from a different stock. In very old days a litigant is allowed to bring his friends into court, and to take "counsel" with them before he speaks. Early in the twelfth century it is already the peculiar mark of a capital accusation that the accused must answer without "counsel." Then sometimes one of my friends will be allowed, not merely to prompt me, but even to speak for me. It is already seen that the old requirement of extreme verbal accuracy is working injustice. A man ought to have some opportunity of amending a mere slip of the tongue; and yet old legal principles will not suffer that he should amend the slips of his own tongue. Let another

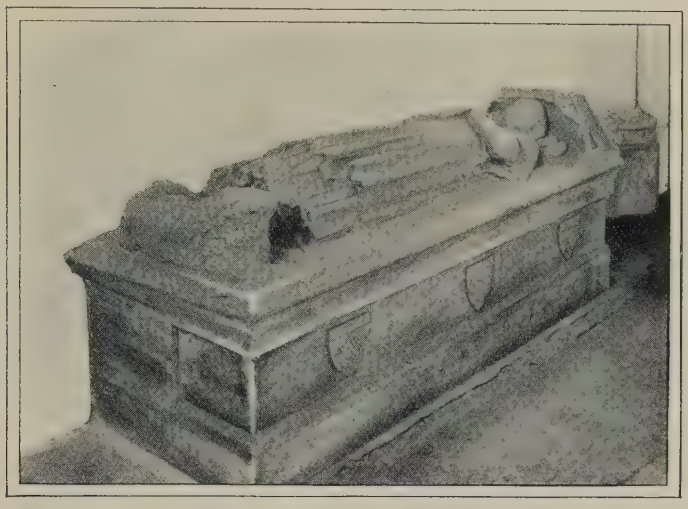
tongue slip for him. Such is the odd compromise between ancient law and modern equity. One great advantage that I gain by putting forward "one of my counsel" to speak for me is that if he blunders—if, for example, he speaks of Roger when he should have spoken of Richard—I shall be able to correct the mistake, for his words will not bind me until I have adopted them. Naturally, however, I choose for this purpose my acutest and most experienced friends. Naturally, also, acute and experienced men are to be found who will gladly be for this purpose my friends or anybody else's friends, if they be paid for their friendliness. As a class of expert pleaders forms itself, the relation between the litigant and those who are "of counsel for him" will be very much changed, but it will not lose all traces of its friendly character. Theoretically one cannot hire another person to plead for one; in other words, counsel cannot sue for his fees.

A CHIEF JUSTICE UNDER EDWARD I.
(*By permission of the Rev. Sir W. Hyde Parker.*)

Seemingly it was in the reign of Henry III. that pleaders seeking for employment began to cluster round the king's court. Some of them the king, the busiest of all litigants, kept in his pay; they were his "serjeants"—that is, servants—at law. Under Edward I. a process, the details of which are

still very obscure, was initiated by the king, which brought these professional pleaders and the professional attorneys[1] under the control of the judges, and began to secure a monopoly of practice to those who had been formally ordained to the ministry of the law. About the same time it is that we begin to read of men climbing from the Bar to the Bench, and about the same time it is that the judges are ceasing to be ecclesiastics. If we look back

Serjeants at Law.



A CHIEF JUSTICE UNDER EDWARD III.

(The Effigy of Sir John de Stonore, Dorchester, Oxon.)

to Richard I.'s reign we may see, as the highest temporal court of the realm, a court chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, presided over by an archbishop, who is also Chief Justiciar; he will have at his side two or three bishops, two or three archdeacons, and but two or three laymen. The greatest judges even of Henry III.'s reign are ecclesiastics, though by this time it has become scandalous for a bishop to do much secular justice. These judges have deserved their appointments, not by pleading for litigants, but by serving as clerks in the Court, the Exchequer, the Chancery. They are pro-

[1 On attorneys, *cf.* Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, I., p. 191.]

fessionally learned in the law of the land, but they have acquired their skill rather as the civil servants of the Crown than as the advocates or advisers of private persons; and if they serve the king well on the Bench, they may hope to retire upon bishoprics, or at all events deaneries. But the Church has been trying to withdraw the clergy from this work in the civil courts. Very curious had been the shifts to which ecclesiastics had been put in order to keep themselves technically free of blood-guiltiness. The accused criminal knew what was going to happen when the ecclesiastical president of the court rose but left his lay associates behind him. Hands that dared not write "and the jurors say that he is guilty, and therefore let him be hanged," would go so far as "and therefore, etc." Lips that dared not say any worse would venture a sufficiently intelligible "Take him away, and let him have a priest." However, the Church has her way. The clerks of the court, the Exchequer, the Chancery, will for a very long time be clerks in holy orders; but before the end of Edward I.'s reign the appointment of an ecclesiastic to be one of the king's justices will be becoming rare. On the whole, we may say that from that time to the present, one remarkable characteristic of our legal system is fixed—all the most important work of the law is done by a very small number of royal justices who have been selected from the body of pleaders practising in the king's courts.

The King's Courts.

Slowly the "curia" of the Norman reigns had been giving birth to various distinct offices and tribunals. In Edward's day there was a "King's Bench" (a court for criminal causes and other "pleas of the Crown"); a "Common Bench" (a court for actions brought by one subject against another); an Exchequer, which both in a judicial and an administrative way collected the king's revenue and enforced his fiscal rights; a Chancery, which was a universal secretarial bureau, doing all the writing that was done in the king's name. These various departments had many adventures to live through before the day would come when they would once more be absorbed into a High Court of Justice. Of some few of those adventures we shall speak in another place, but must here say two or three words about a matter which gave a distinctive shape to the whole body of our law—a shape that it is even

now but slowly losing. Our common law during the later Middle Ages and far on into modern times is in the main a commentary on writs issued out of the king's Chancery. To understand this, we must go back to the twelfth century, to a time when it would have seemed by no means natural that ordinary litigation between ordinary men should come into the king's court. It does not come there without an order from the king. Your adversary could not summon you to meet him in that court; the summons must come from the king. Thus much of the old procedure we still retain in our

ADVOCATE.
(MS. Roy. 6 E. vi.)

JUDGES.
(MS. Roy. 6 E. vii.)

TAKING THE OATH.
(MS. Roy. 6 E. vii.)

own time; it will be the King, not your creditor, who will bid you appear in his High Court. But whereas at the present day the formal part of the writ will merely bid you appear in court, and all the information that you will get about the nature of the claim against you will be conveyed to you in the plaintiff's own words or those of his legal advisers, this was not so until very lately. In old times the writ that was drawn up in the king's Chancery and sealed with his great seal told the defendant a good many particulars about the plaintiff's demand. Gradually, as the king began to open the doors of his court to litigants of all kinds, blank forms of the various writs that could be issued were accumulated in the Chancery. We may think of the king as keeping a shop in which writs were sold. Some of them were to be had at fixed prices, or, as we should say nowadays, they could be had as matters of course on the payment of fixed court-fees;

for others special bargains had to be made. Then, in course of time, as our Parliamentary constitution took shape, the invention of new writs became rarer and rarer. Men began to see that if the king in his Chancery could devise new remedies by granting new writs, he had in effect a power of creating new rights and making new laws without the concurrence of the estates of the realm. And so it came to be a settled doctrine that though the old formulas might be modified in immaterial particulars to suit new cases as they arose, no new formula could be introduced except by statute. This change had already taken place in Edward I.'s day. Thenceforward the cycle of writs must be regarded as a closed cycle; no one can bring his cause before the king's courts unless he can bring it within the scope of one of those formulas which the Chancery has in stock and ready for sale. We may argue that if there is no writ there is no remedy, and if there is no remedy there is no wrong; and thus the register of writs in the Chancery becomes the test of rights and the measure of law. Then round each writ a great mass of learning collects itself. He who knows what cases can be brought within each formula knows the law of England. The body of law has a skeleton, and that skeleton is the system of writs. Thus our jurisprudence took an exceedingly rigid and permanent shape; it became a commentary on formulas. It could still grow and assimilate new matter, but it could only do this by a process of interpretation which gradually found new, and not very natural, meanings for old phrases. As we shall see hereafter, this process of interpretation was too slow to keep up with the course of social and economic change, and the Chancery had to come to the relief of the courts of law by making itself a court of equity.

C. W. C. OMAN. The Art of War.

EDWARD I. is generally said to have learnt the art of war from Simon de Montfort, and the great earl was no doubt a practised warrior. His victory of Lewes, won with very inferior forces over a gallant enemy, shows that he had much more skill in tactics than his contemporaries. He knew how to keep an army in hand even when part of it was wavering, and had learned to keep a reserve back for the critical

moment and to use it with energy. But Simon was still of the old school, trusting mainly to the charge of his mailed horsemen to win him battles, and looking to infantry as a secondary force. Lewes he won by a cavalry charge; Evesham was the hopeless endeavour of a gallant band of horsemen to cut their way through vastly superior forces.

The Longbow.

It was not from Simon, then, that King Edward learnt that judicious combination of the use of archery and cavalry which had not been properly utilised since William the Conqueror first essayed it at Hastings. The device of bringing forward the bowmen under cover of the cavalry, and using them to break up the enemy's line and make gaps for the horsemen to enter, is first heard of in the Welsh wars. We read that it was first used against Llewellyn's host at Orewin Bridge, and again repeated against Welsh rebels in 1295. "The Welsh," says Nicholas Trivet, "set themselves fronting the force of the Earl of Warwick with long spears, standing close together with the butts of their lances planted in the earth and their points directed upwards. They quite broke the force of the charges of the English horsemen; but the earl well provided against them, for placing archers between his men-at-arms he so galled the spearmen that they wavered, and then put them to flight by a charge."

The War with the Scots.

Edward's great achievement was the Battle of Falkirk. The forty thousand Scots of Wallace's army were nearly all spearmen, with a few mounted knights—less than a thousand in all—and a certain proportion of archers using the short-bow. Wallace drew his army up in a good position behind a marsh, in four great masses, and waited to be attacked. The King of England advanced with his horse in three divisions, and his archery in the intervals between them. The first division charged, but got entangled in the marsh and was driven off. The second division turned the morass, and chased away the Scottish archers and cavalry, but was checked by the pikemen, on whom it could make no impression. Edward then halted his horse, brought his archers to the front, and concentrated their fire on certain points in the Scottish columns. When they were well riddled, he sent his knights against the wavering points in the mass, broke in, and scattered the whole army to the winds with fearful

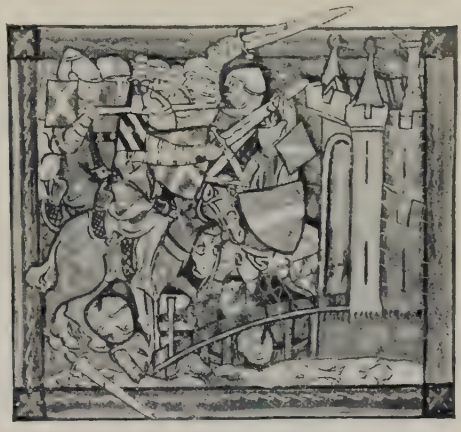
slaughter. For the next two centuries similar tactics always proved effective against the Scots, whose horse were seldom numerous enough to cope on equal terms with the English, while their archers never learnt to use the long-bow with effect. Halidon Hill, Neville's Cross, Homildon, and Flodden were all variations on the same theme. The Scottish pike-men, able to beat off cavalry charges with ease, were helpless when exposed to the rain of archery, and always suffered fearfully from the obstinate courage which made them hold their ground under the shower of arrows till the inevitable cavalry charge found a weak point in the column, and when once it was broken into, the whole mass was cut to pieces.

Changes in Armour.

Chain mail had sufficed for two centuries to arm the feudal horsemen of England. The peaked Norman helmet with the nasal had long been superseded by a larger helm covering the whole head, and usually flat at the crown; but the mail shirt remained as a sufficient protection for the knight's body. But at the same time that archery commenced to improve, and probably in consequence of that very improvement, the mail shirt began to be replaced by heavier and more elaborate armour. Between 1300 and 1350 the general appearance of the knightly panoply changed completely; over the coat of mail a breast-plate of plate armour, forming a second protection for the body, was superimposed. Aillettes, or roundels, shielded the shoulders from downward cuts; arm-pieces and leg-pieces of plate protected the limbs. Such of the old chain-armour as was retained was hardly visible, being entirely covered by the extra casing of plate. The helmet once more became peaked, and was known as a bassinet, the neck was protected by a light falling piece of chain-mail, fastened to the bassinet at the top and to the shoulders at the bottom, and called the cammail. The superior protection secured by the new armour was won at the cost of mobility. The knight of 1360 was far more overweighted and less able to move with rapidity than the knight of 1260. His forces failed sooner; his balance both on horse and on foot was less easy to keep. A generation later, when men still persisted in overloading themselves with more armour, they became more helpless

Early Plate Armour (MS. Roy. 20 D. i.).

St. George and the Dragon (MS. Add. 23,145).



Fight on Drawbridge of a Castle (MS. Add. 10,293).

Archers (MS. Roy. 16 G. vi.).

still; a knight who had been overthrown could not even rise to his feet without his squire's aid, and lay entirely at the mercy of his adversary. Not unfrequently men were stifled by the weight of their armour when they had fallen, and died without having received any mortal wound.

AN ENGLISH KNIGHT OF 1302.
(*Brass of Sir Robert de Bures.*)

The armies which Edward III. and the Black Prince led over to France were not raised on the old principles of the feudal levy and the national militia, nor were they foreign mercenaries engaged purely for pay like the hirelings of John. A new system had now come into use for foreign wars, though the theory of the old universal liability to serve was still maintained for use in time of rebellion, or for border service against Scotland or Wales. The king habitually entered into indentures with his barons and knights, agreeing to take them into his service, not for the short feudal forty days, but for long terms at liberal rates of wages, calculated according to the rank of the contracting party and the number and quality of followers that he brought with him. We have the pay-roll of the army with which Edward III. besieged Calais in 1346 preserved in its entirety, and know the rates of every man whom the king entertained, from his son, the Prince of Wales, down to the meanest light infantry soldier. The prince had one pound a day; thirteen earls and one bishop, six shillings and eightpence each; forty-four barons and knights banneret, four shillings each; 1,040 knights, two shillings each; then came the bulk of the horse, 4,022 esquires and constables, who received a shilling a day. The bulk of the army was composed of archers, 15,480 on foot at threepence a day, 5,104 provided with horses for quick move-

Soldiers' Pay.

ment (not for fighting) who had double that sum. The rest of the infantry was composed of 4,474 Welsh pikemen at twopence a day. Besides these there were some 500 light horse ("hobbilers") and 300 gunners and engineers. This gives us an army of 5,600 horse and 25,000 foot. Such an effort was, however, very unusual; so large and well-equipped an army was probably never put into the field on any other occasion. As is well known, Crecy, Agincourt, and Poitiers were fought with very much smaller forces.

AN ENGLISH KNIGHT OF 1325.
(*Brass of Sir John De Creke.*)

The troops which Edward III. habitually raised by contract with his barons and knights were, of course, far more expensive than the old feudal array; and the drain on the treasury was such, that in spite of the most liberal grants from Parliament, supplemented by many illegal methods of raising money, the king was always in debt. The many constitutional advances of the liberties in England in his day are all traceable to his incessant need to bargain with Parliament for more grants, by ceding some of the more obnoxious royal privileges.

For service against the domestic enemies within the four seas—Scots, Welsh, and native rebels—the three Edwards had generally recourse, not to calling out the whole forces of the shires under the sheriff, as would have been the case in an earlier century, but to "commissions of array," by which mandates were given to selected persons to press and put under arms a given number of men from such and such a district. As by the assize of arms the men had already been compelled to furnish themselves with weapons and armour,

the commissioner of array had only to choose and muster his force out of the persons liable to serve. Edward I. regularly paid all bodies of men called out under this system, but his weak and unbusiness-like son, and even Edward III. in his more penniless days, tried to throw the burden on the counties and towns which supplied the men. This was quite unconstitutional, and ere long Edward was compelled by Parliament to promise that all men levied under this system should be paid from the royal exchequer. In 1352 it was even provided that commissions of array should only be issued by the king after he had obtained the common assent and grant of Parliament; and that no man should be constrained to serve outside his own county save in cases of invasion by a foreign foe. At the same time it was enacted that all men chosen to serve in foreign wars should be at the king's wages from the day that they crossed the boundary of their own county.

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy.

THE reign of Edward the First was as noteworthy as that of his predecessor for the lawlessness of much of the maritime population of England. In 1293 the riotous behaviour of the crews of a few private ships led to serious, though informal, hostilities between England and France. The dispute was provisionally settled in a manner characteristic of the age. It was arranged that on a given day the fleets of each side should meet at a given spot in mid-Channel and submit the question to the decision of arms. An empty ship was anchored to mark the place for the conflict, and in due course English and French encountered one another, and the latter were badly beaten. Unfortunately the affair did not terminate there, for King Philip took up the quarrel of his subjects, and regular war immediately resulted. A few years later the revival of an ancient feud between the Cinque Ports and Yarmouth led to several very bloody encounters, one of which ended in the burning of above twenty Yarmouth ships, and greatly prejudiced the national cause in which at the time both the Cinque Ports and Yarmouth were assisting the king at Sluys. Significant also of the condition of the coasts are a statute of 1276 that modified the law of wreck, and the fact that for several years the Cinque Ports were in

SINGLE COMBAT, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY. (MS Roy. 20 D. 1.)

a state of private war with part of Edward's Continental dominions.

Letters of Marque.

Reference has already been made to the granting by an English king of something very much resembling letters of marque. Actual letters of marque were granted in the time of Edward I. A certain Bernard d'Ongressill, a merchant of Bayonne, then an appanage of the English crown, was the owner of a ship, the *St. Mary*, which, bound from Barbary to England, and laden with almonds, raisins, and figs, was driven by stress of weather into Lagos in Portugal. While she was there at anchor some armed Portuguese from Lisbon boarded her, robbed d'Ongressill and his crew, and carried the ship and cargo to their city. The King of Portugal took one-tenth of the spoil and left the rest to the robbers. The merchant, who declared that he was the poorer by £700, prayed Sir John of Brittany, then Lieutenant of Gascony, to grant him letters of marque. A grant was accordingly made, empowering d'Ongressill, his heirs, successors, and descendants for five years "to mark, retain, and appropriate" the people of Portugal, and especially those of Lisbon, and their goods, wheresoever they might be found, until satisfaction should be had. This licence was confirmed by Edward, with the proviso that it should cease when restitution had been made, and that if d'Ongressill took more than he had lost, he should account for the overplus.

The Cinque Ports.

Their services obtained from Edward several new charters for the Cinque Ports. One relieved them from paying duty on such wines as they imported; another exempted their ships and rigging from taxation, and gave them other advantages. Their fleet was at this period commanded by one admiral, Gervase Alard, and four captains, with a rector or constable, and a master to each ship. The captains, who seem to have commanded squadrons, received 12d. a day, the masters and rectors or constables 6d., and the sailors 3d., as in previous reigns. The admiral received 2s. The masters also received 20s. for pilotage for the whole coast of Scotland and Ireland. What the sea stores of a ship were in 1290 may be gathered from a list of things purchased for a vessel that was to have been sent to bring the Princess Margaret from Norway—where, however, she prematurely died. The pro-

visions included wine, ale, corn, beef, pork, bacon, stock-fish, sturgeons, herrings, and lampreys, almonds, rice, beans, peas, onions, leeks, cheese, nuts, salt, vinegar, mustard, pepper, cummin-seed, ginger, cinnamon, figs, raisins, saffron, and gingerbread; and among miscellaneous articles were wax-torches, tallow candles, cressets,[1] lanterns, napkins, wood, and biscuit; together with a banner of the king's arms, and a silken streamer or pennant. All king's ships, it would appear, flew the royal banner—red, with three golden lions—and probably also the flag of St. George; and it may well be that the whip or pennant, as a mark of a king's ship of war in commission, dates from about this time.

The Dominion of the Sea.

From this period comes to us a very remarkable document, which affords weighty evidence that Edward, if not his predecessors, formally claimed the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, and regarded it as indisputable. It is not dated, but it must have been drawn up between 1303 and 1307, and it appears to have been the draft of an Anglo-French agreement or treaty. It begins: "Whereas the Kings of England, by right of the said kingdom from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, have been in peaceable possession of the sovereign lordship of the sea of England, and of the isles within the same, with power of making and establishing laws, statutes, and prohibitions of arms, and of ships otherwise furnished than merchantmen used to be, and of taking surety and affording safeguard in all cases where need shall require, and of ordering all other things necessary for the maintaining of peace, right, and equity among all manner of people as well of other dominions as of their own, passing through the said seas, and the sovereign guard thereof, and also of taking all manner of cognizance in causes, and of doing right and justice to high and low," and whereas (to shorten the phraseology) the Kings of England had been in the immemorial habit of deputing their powers to their admirals and masters; and it concludes, *inter alia*, with an agreement that the King of France shall aid and abet the King of England in the maintenance of these his rights and powers, and with what almost amounts to a promise of satisfaction

[1 Lanterns, or rather light-holders, carried in a socket at the end of a pole or dependent from a chain.]

for an infringement of them by a certain "master of the navy" of the French king, one "Reyner Grimbald," who is better known in history as Grimaldi.

Some space has previously[1] been devoted to a consideration of the claims of the kings of England to the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas. The subject deserves continued attention, for it is impossible to doubt that the maritime jealousy of our monarchs, and the extraordinary pretensions which, even while they were powerless to enforce them, they put forward, had important influences upon the destiny of the race. It has already been shown that the claims in question are very ancient, and that there are grounds—though not absolutely convincing ones—for believing that they were admitted by foreigners in the days of Edward I. In the reign of Edward II. they were indisputably acknowledged. The proof is to be found in the prayer of three Flemish envoys who, in 1320, visited London to obtain redress for outrages which, during a long period, had, as was alleged, been committed by English sailors upon Flemish ships. One of the most flagrant of these outrages had been perpetrated "on the sea of England near Crauden," a place which Nicolas identifies with Crozon, a seaport about eight leagues west of Quimper, in Brittany, near the extremity of the Pointe du Raz; and it is significant that the envoys begged Edward "of his lordship and royal power to cause right to be done and punishment awarded, as he is lord of the sea, and the robbery was committed on the sea within his power as is above said." This recognition by the Flemings carries the more weight from its having been on their part entirely voluntary; and, as Nicolas points out, although it was their interest to fix the responsibility of the outrage upon England, it is not probable that an admission of a great national right would have been spontaneously made in order to attain the object in view, unless the right were regarded as lying beyond all question. By England the admission was clearly accepted as a matter of course; and the officers who conducted the resultant inquiry were ordered to examine into acts committed "by men of England on the sea of England, off the coast of Crauden, within the jurisdiction of the King of England." Crauden itself, it should

[1] *See ante*, Vol. I., p. 456.

A SEA FIGHT (MS. 20 D. 1).

be noted, did not form part of Edward's dominions. It was merely washed by the sea which was Edward's.

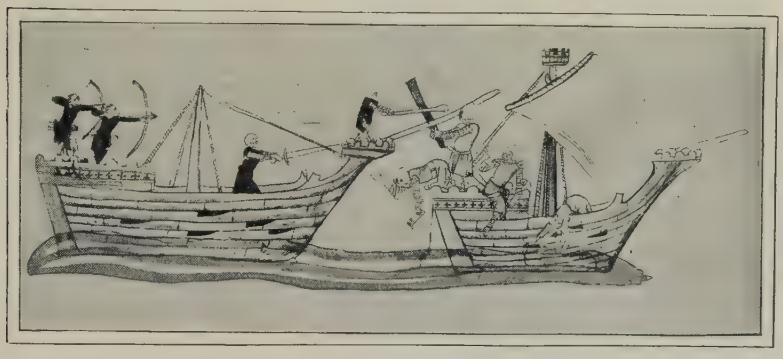
The dominion claimed, and thus formally acknowledged, was, however, still much more imaginary than real. The king's peace did not, save in theory, extend to all his own ports, much less to the waters which were out of sight of his coasts; and there was fully as much maritime lawlessness in his reign in the Channel and the North Sea as in the reign of any of his predecessors. In 1316, when the North Sea was, as usual in those days, swarming with pirates, six ships of war under Sir John Sturmy and William Gettour, "captains and admirals," were despatched to defend Berwick against the freebooters; but, instead of proceeding upon that duty, they dropped anchor in various ports along the coast, and plundered the neighbourhood. Ships of Holland, Hainault, and Norway committed repeated acts of aggression with comparative impunity; and the fleet of the Cinque Ports, whenever it was not employed by the king, was engaged in preying upon all sea-borne commerce without distinction of nationality, or in harrying the unfortunate inhabitants of Southampton, Lyme, Weymouth, and Poole. In 1314 complaint was made that a vessel, the *Blessed Mary*, belonging to Fontarabie, near Bayonne, had been driven ashore and plundered by seamen of Winchelsea, Rye, and Romney; and the king ordered an investigation; but in vain. The inhabitants of the Cinque Ports, by force and violence, prevented the inquiry from taking place, and it does not appear that the offenders were ever punished. Indeed, there was in England no power strong enough to oblige these highly favoured sea-rovers to behave themselves.

Maritime Trade.

Trade must have suffered terribly. Upon the whole, nevertheless, the maritime commerce of the country increased. It was greatly encouraged by the scarcity which prevailed in England in 1315 and 1316, and which caused the king to hold out special inducements, and to grant advantageous privileges to the merchants of Sicily, Spain, and Genoa. There was also a growing trade by sea with Venice, through which great emporium England at that time, and for many years afterwards, chiefly obtained her spices and other Oriental produce.

In naval architecture several improvements were made at about this period. Two masts became common, and some process akin to the modern method of furling sails was adopted. Elevated stern-stages, or *bellatoria*, and fighting tops on the masts sprang into general use, and the rudder was invented. The stern-stage, or *bellatorium*, which was destined to develop in the course of generations into the poop, was, on account of its elevation, the position assigned to the commander. It therefore contained the principal

Naval Architecture.



A SEA FIGHT (MS. Roy. 10 E. iv.).

banner or ensign, and this, no doubt, is the reason why in all navies the national ensign still flies at the stern of a ship and not in some more conspicuous position. Another *bellatorium* was sometimes erected forward, and there became the origin of the raised forecastle. In the *bellatoria* were stationed the pick of the fighting men, and the apparatus for discharging Greek fire, stones, and other large missiles. The rudder of the early part of the fourteenth century did not materially differ from the rudder of to-day. It was of the same form; it was moved by means of a tiller, and it was affixed by means of pintles and gudgeons;[1] but although, upon its invention, its advantages over the *clavus*, or steering paddle, must at once have been obvious, very few ships, and those only of the largest size, were fitted with it; and for long afterwards the paddle was much more usually met with.

[1 The pintles are the pins on which the rudder turns in the clamps or sockets (gudgeons) affixed to the vessel's stern.]

Sometimes a couple of paddles, one on each quarter, were employed. The sails remained of the same square shape as in earlier times; no fore-and-aft sails were added; and it does not appear that more than one sail at a time was hoisted upon each mast, though there is some slight evidence that larger yards and sails were occasionally used in fine, and smaller ones in foul, weather.

R. HUGHES. Architecture and Art.

THE reigns of the first Edward, of his son, and of his grandson, together cover a space of a hundred and five years, and it is habitual to speak of the architecture of the entire period as belonging to the Decorated style. Chronologically this is accurate enough, if we strike off the last sixteen years; but the habitual phrase is unfortunate, as suggesting a breach of architectural continuity, which does not exist in fact. The truth is that the Decorated is not really a style at all. It is simply a rich and highly cultivated variety of that style of Pointed Gothic which goes by the name of Early English. We look, therefore, in vain for anything which we can truly describe as "transitional Early English," parallel to that "transitional Norman" which, a century earlier, bridged the change from Norman to Gothic, or even to that less strongly marked transitional which, a century later, ushered in the victory of the Perpendicular forms. If the nomenclature could be revised, it would be convenient to classify the whole of English Gothic by its window forms, which would give us the lancet style and the traceried styles, including plate tracery and bar tracery, plain and ornamental, the latter being subdivided according as the ornament is added or

WINDOW WITH FLOWING TRACERY.
(*Stoke Golding Church, Leicestershire.*)

Varieties of Gothic.

constructive. In such a classification the Decorated architecture of the Edwards would be referred exclusively to the last division—the period, that is, of constructively ornamental tracery; and it is in this meaning, and in this meaning only, that we hereafter use the word. This tracery, however, lends itself to further subdivision, according as it is flowing or geometrical. The geometrical is, of course, the older, having been extensively used in Early English times; in Henry's work at Westminster, for instance, where the ornament was not as yet constructive. But the flowing tracery did not by any means destroy the geometric vogue, and inasmuch as we constantly find both kinds of windows side by side in the same building, and with the same mouldings, and of the same age, the distinction is obviously useless for determining the chronological sequence.

WINDOW WITH GEOMETRICAL TRACERY.
(St. Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral.)

As might be expected from what we have said, the distinguishing characteristics of Decorated work must be looked for rather in details than in general form and outline. We note at once the larger size of the windows, marking the growing search after means to make a fuller display of painted glass. They are invariably divided by mullions, and the tracery, whether composed of circles, trefoils (pointed or natural), or similar regular figures, or running into flowing and irregular lines, is never Perpendicular. The divisions, too, are always cusped, and the cusps[1] are wrought on

"Decorated" Architecture.

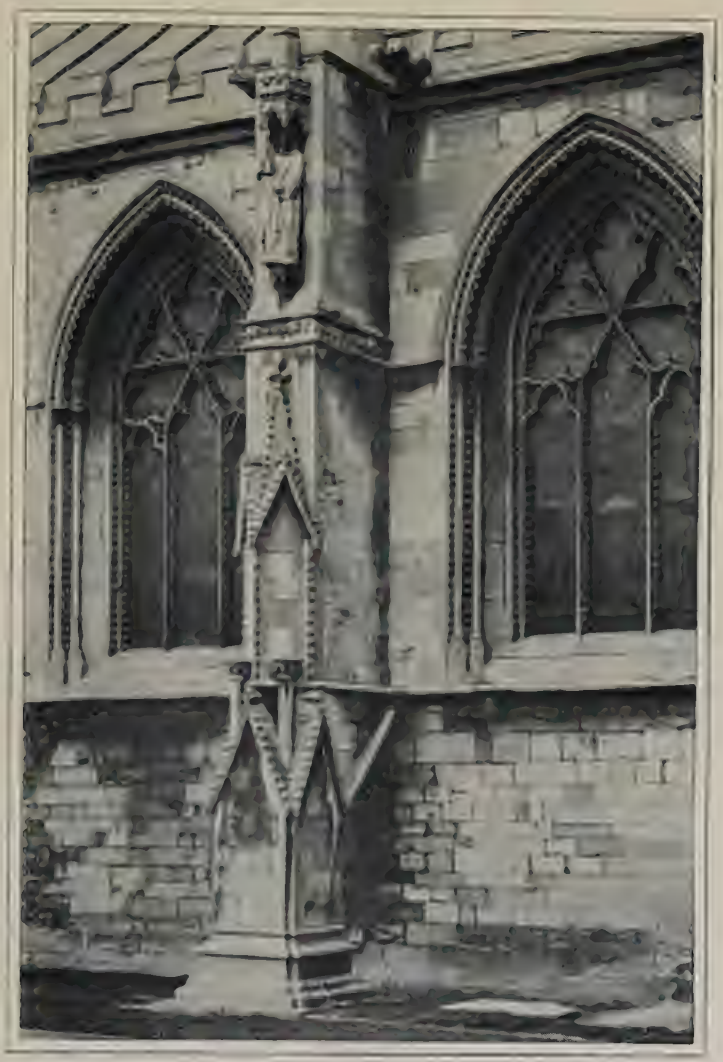
[1] Prominences formed by the intersection of the curves of which the tracery is composed.]

the actual bar, not merely added on the soffit.[1] The ornaments, such as appear on the capitals of columns, on the bosses or meeting-places of the vaulting groins, on finial[2] and corbel and canopy, are much more numerous and rich than formerly. The carving is less conventional; and, indeed, in the leafage and fruit of oak and vine and maple, fidelity to nature is not infrequently attained at some expense of consistency.

Windows. Leading examples of early Decorated windows showing geometrical tracery are to be found in the choir of Merton College Chapel, which may be assigned to the penultimate decade of the thirteenth century, being quite twenty years earlier than the sacristy, which the college muniments show to be of 1307. Similar work is to be seen in the windows of the passage to the chapter-house at York, and in some of those in the cathedrals of Exeter and Lichfield. All of these are aggregates of geometrical figures ingeniously put together, and all belong to the first twenty years, or thereabouts, of the reign of Edward I. A little later come the chapter-houses of York and Wells with window forms of the same type, a type which held its own down to the end of the Decorated style. Overlapping hardly describes the contemporaneous growth of geometrical and flowing tracery, for we find the purest flowing forms as early as 1290, as at Stoke Golding, in Leicestershire; while the contract for the famous window in St. Anselm's Chapel at Canterbury, which is the purest geometrical, was not given out till 1336. It is certain too that in the interval between these dates a practice had arisen—though one obtaining chiefly in Yorkshire and the Midlands—of alternating or mixing geometrical with flowing forms, which was followed in the Benedictine abbey at Selby and in St. Mary's Church at Beverley. The most elaborate stone lacework, such as that in the east window of Carlisle, and also the most profusely ornamented mouldings, come a little later, the richest of all belonging to the troubled reign of Edward II. and the earlier years of his son. This work is rarely without the characteristic "ball flower" or the almost equally characteristic "four-leaved flower." These two ornaments are in England (though not in France) the peculiar signs of the Decorated period, belonging to it as the chevron

[1 The under-surface of the vaulting of the window. 2 Ornaments on a gable.]

belongs to Norman, and the violette to Early English work. The ball flower is of no great beauty in itself—a sort of half-



WINDOWS WITH BALL-FLOWER ORNAMENT, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

opened round stone bud, showing a ball in the centre beneath the pinched but unbroken lip-like corolla. These ornaments, occasionally connected with a stem, are extensively used in

the external decoration of spires and doorways, and, in spite of their intrinsic ugliness, have a very rich effect. The four-leaved flowers are more elegant, having four petals cut in high relief running from a centre sometimes raised and sometimes sunk. The architects of the early fourteenth century loved literally to smother their window frames with these ornaments; and in the south aisle of the nave of Hereford and at Leominster, in the same county, there are instances where the reticulations are so filled with ball flowers as almost to suggest (of course, in point of mass only) the plate tracery of the previous century. Few of the old patterns of ornament were retained, but, by exception, the crocket survived, though not in its old vigour, and the diaper also; and this last, in the dearth of coverings for wall spaces, flourished exceedingly.

A peculiarity of the Decorated period is the use of the double arched window, the inner arch being frequently very deeply foliated, and separated, by the whole thickness of the wall, from the outer one which carries the lights. This form is noteworthy, because it is never found in Perpendicular times. So, too, of the rose window, which, though less popular here than in France, and rarely given the place of honour in the east or west walls, yet takes with us very beautiful shapes. There are noble examples of these windows at St. Mary's, Cheltenham, at Westminster, and especially in the south transept at Lincoln, where the interlacing stems simulate the freedom of a briar rose, and show how far the builders have travelled since they put up the plate tracery—once a masterpiece—that looks down from the opposite transept. The Jesse window, the central mullion of which forms the trunk of the tree of the genealogy of Christ, is an equally common and characteristic feature of this period. The impression that above all others strikes one in this Decorated work is the passion for richness. The arcades which ornament the walls, the canopies over the tombs, the sedilia, the piscinæ, even such spires and towers as those of Lichfield, seem chiefly valued as vehicles for ornament. The style misses the grave beauty, the reserve, the laborious simplicity, of the Early English.

There is a certain cheapness in this reliance on ornamental

detail which comes out somewhat painfully in the matter of mouldings. One would almost think that the Decorated masons found it too much trouble to cut the deep, shadowy hollows and bold rounds of the earlier men. They favour the easier effects of the flat fillet, with the result that their mouldings are almost invariably few in number and feeble in expression. But the point of most marked inferiority in the style was its treatment of the supporting pillars. These lose their detached shafts; they are still clustered in outline, but the exquisite lightness of such piers as we see at Salisbury is gone. On the other hand, in the matter of vaulting, though they sometimes seem to have had spasms of timidity, the Decorated architects made a considerable advance. In building the chapter-house at York they got rid of the central pillar, and at Ely they invented a mode of covering the intersection of nave and transept which gave them a central space of the noblest proportions and unrivalled in elegance of

THE JESSE WINDOW, DORCHESTER CHURCH, OXON.

design. The octagon at Ely, built by Alan of Walsingham in the last years of Edward II., is unmatched by any similar construction in England. It covers the entire width of nave and transept, and the fluted fans which lead up to the lantern are of surpassing beauty. This feature of largeness comes out again in the nave of York. Like the lantern at Ely, the roof is of wood, but the effect is none the less satisfactory. At York, and still more at Lichfield, we note the tendency of the Decorated architect to enlarge the clerestory at the expense of the triforium; but where, as in the choir bays at Ely (built by the same Alan of Walsingham), the old Early English proportions are preserved, the absolute high-water mark of elegance in proportion, combined with richness of detail, may be said to have been reached.

Tombs.

What may, perhaps, be best termed sepulchral art attained its zenith during this period. Simple slabs with a rudely carved figure upon them seem to have been all that was attempted by the Normans. Wooden canopies adorned with leather were the rule in Early English times. Wood was the material of the beautiful canopy placed over the tomb of Edward III. at Westminster, at the very end of the Decorated period, and of the simple roof which covers the monument of the Black Prince at Canterbury. The figures which were used for decoration were usually of metal—either brass or bronze gilt. Occasionally they were of stone, as in the group of tombs at Westminster, where Aylmer de Valence lies between Edmund Crouchback and his wife Aveline. Aylmer was assassinated when in attendance on the "she-wolf of France" in 1323, and this tomb and its companions are not earlier than the reign of her son. It has a stone canopy, which is something of a rarity, and is well executed, as are the little figures of Aylmer's kinsmen on the base. But of all these monuments that which the monks of Gloucester erected to the memory of Edward of Carnarvon best deserves mention, not only for its intrinsic beauty, but because it became the type which, for two centuries, Gothic sculptors delighted to copy. It is, of course, more or less a wreck that we see now. The subsidiary statues are gone; but, as he lies in a seclusion made by the forest of tapering shafts and pinnacles and niches, decked with the richest ornament of the richest period

of Gothic art, one almost ceases to wonder how it was that this weak and worthless creature came to be considered a hero and a saint. At any rate, his tomb is (as, indeed, it has been accounted for five centuries and a half) a model and a masterpiece.

There can be no doubt that considerable skill in the plastic art had by this time been acquired in England. Not only had materials for the Abbey work of Henry—glass mosaic, porphyry, and alabaster—been brought from abroad by Abbot Ware, but foreign artists and foreign knowledge had come with them. Thirty years later lived William Torel, who seems to have been an accomplished sculptor, and, however foreign in matter of name, he was "a goldsmith and a

Effigies.

TOMB OF EDWARD II., GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

citizen of London." He certainly cast effigies of Henry and of Eleanor, "the queen of good memory," which have considerable beauty, though of a conventional kind; but a real likeness of Queen Philippa was carved in alabaster by Hawkin of Liège, whose name suggests an English artist trained in the queen's country of Hainault. An Englishman, too, seems to have made the effigies of Queen Eleanor that adorned the crosses erected by Edward in his sad pilgrimage from Nottingham to Westminster. Of these unique memorials to the memory of the wife who, when her husband was stabbed by a poisoned dagger, "sucked forth the poison with her balmy breath," three out of the original fifteen alone remain. These are at Geddington, Waltham, and Northampton; that at the first-named place being the least dilapidated. In form they resemble the famous Schöne Brunnen of Nuremberg, which is a contemporary work. The free copy by Barry at Charing Cross has sufficiently popularised the design, and certainly, in view of the prevailing hideousness of our modern monuments, the sculptor of the nineteenth century did not go far wrong in borrowing from his brother of the thirteenth. The English passion for portraiture doubtless found its best opportunity in modelling the "lively"—that is, lifelike—statues in wood or wax which were laid upon the biers of distinguished persons. Masks from the dead face were frequently taken, and no pains were spared to obtain a good likeness. As the practice dates at least from the twelfth, and persisted as late as the last century, these effigies, had they been preserved, would have formed a series of priceless value, and shed a flood of light, not only on the artistic progress of the country, but in many dark corners of history. Unfortunately, only the more modern and worthless specimens have survived. The effigies of Edward I. and Eleanor, of Edward III. and Philippa, were still to be seen at Westminster as late as the time of Dryden; and Horace Walpole mentions that, though sadly mangled, some, including that of Elizabeth of York (a fifteenth-century work), were still recognisable. The present survivors of this "ragged regiment" are all much later, the oldest being that of Charles II.

Portrait Masks.

But if we can only guess what was the state of the plastic

Coment Noe enuoye vn corbeu e vne columbe-sauoer moun si il cravouent
pot de rear. le corbeu si ad aoue la telte de vn Chiual ou il se aresta. E le Co
lumbe est retorne si apuie vne braunche en soun bek en signe qil ad aoue ter
E Noe a le entre de la nef: si ere diroiate ou il seer a la gouernayle. E li
diable sen fuyst p mi le fouraz de la nef: e la colouer bote sa coue par mi le
pertuz.

THE ARK AFLOAT. (*MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.*) [*To face p. 72.*

arts under the three Edwards, we are almost totally in the dark as to the progress of the art of painting. The "liberate" rolls of Henry III.'s reign abound with orders for the painting or decorating of the oratories and chapels of that devout king. Nor is it likely that there was any falling-off in the art during the reign of Henry's more accomplished and more widely travelled successor. "Trees," no doubt "trees of Jesse" and the like, are among the objects mentioned, and unquestionably various polychromatic schemes of colour were used. The figures of saints in wood and stone had been painted and gilt for generations, but probably this should be treated as the work of the decorator rather than the artist. Several traces of foliage and similar ornament on the vaulting of sepulchral canopies which may be safely attributed to the reigns of the Edwards, suggest a certain progress in artistic feeling. So, too, of the fragments of fresco with a figure subject, recorded as the work of Master Waller, of Durham, at Westminster, and to be found near the tomb of Eleanor. Plenty of such work must have existed (*cf.* I., p. 598), but very little has come down to us. It is bad luck, for a fragment of the fresco of the coronation and marriage of Edward I. which Bishop Langton, of Lichfield, ordered to be painted on the walls of his palace, would have told us more than all the manuscripts. In fine, though we have abundant evidence of the advance of the painter's art in England, for the extent of that advance we must trust to faith rather than to sight. Painting.

The increased application of coloured glass, and the improvements in its design, are less open to question. The earliest painted windows, which were probably transitional Norman, were, no doubt, mere tesselation, which continued to be applied to the borders of lancets in the first period of Early English. Something more was attempted in the pre-Decorated, geometrical forms, when medallions, with figures rudely designed and dressed in the stiffest of draperies, made their appearance, together with conventional foliage. The colours are fine, particularly the ruby and two shades of blue, and a golden pot-metal yellow. In the Decorated period there were marked changes in this respect. The blues begin to fade; a cold emerald colour seems to have been invented, Coloured Glass.

and also a new yellow of a lemon tint, which was applied to the surface of the glass. The old deep ruby glass remains the finest colour, and becomes far less uneven than in the Early English time, but even that gradually loses its depth of colour. The medallions, lately so popular, give way to canopies and figure-subjects. The abrupt alternation of masses of variegated colour with masses of white glass

PAINTED WINDOW IN "BECKET'S CROWN," CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.
(From a Photo, by permission of the Warden of Radley College, Abingdon.)

becomes the leading fashion. There is an increased knowledge of drawing, particularly in the draperies, and the foliaged ornament becomes — perhaps this is the most characteristic change of all—almost naturalistic, as if copied from the actual leaves of the ivy or the oak. Something of the same kind is observable in the missal-painting of the time; but the illuminator was not in the van of progress, nor was the scriptorium of the monastery a school where freedom of invention or a knowledge of perspective was highly prized.

PAGE FROM THE ORMESBY PSALTER.
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Domestic Architecture.

The differentiation of the castle from the baronial residence made enormous strides under the Edwards. The moated grange and the castellated manor-house were fast superseding the private castle; while the castle was becoming more and more a great military and governmental fortress. Everything tended to depress the private building of castles during these reigns; the increased power of the Crown, the spread of sub-infeudation, the love of comfort, and the beginnings of luxury.

Photo: T. Jones, Son & Harper, Ludlow.

STOKESAY MANOR HOUSE, SHROPSHIRE.

Now that the king could command a great mercenary army, it was hopeless for an individual to think of standing against him; while, with the increased security of the greater part of England, the risk of private violence was fast diminishing to zero. The great castles once more became royal, not only in theory, but in fact; and though some imposing edifices of the sort were undoubtedly erected by private enterprise, their erection seems generally to point to individual pride and ostentation, rather than to the desire of the owner for safety against all comers.

Castles.

Before a castle could be built, the licence of the Crown was indeed required, but seems to have been given readily

enough. Henry granted twenty, Edward I. forty-four, Edward II. sixty, and Edward III. a hundred and eighty of these licences; but a very few of them refer to buildings of the impregnable type, or were castles of the first, or even of the second or third, rank. On the Scottish and Welsh borders a strong house was still needed, and a strong man to keep it; but elsewhere the castle as a residence was an anachronism. Still, the finest castles in Great Britain were erected in this period. They were due to the initiative of Edward I. himself, and their design is alleged, although on insufficient evidence, to have originated with the king. To this design the name of Edwardian has in consequence been given, and is so far justified by the great works begun and planned, if not completed, by him.

The Edwardian Fortress.

The new form of fortification, which superseded both the square Norman keep and the round julliet,[1] was essentially concentric, consisting of two or more rings of defence lying one within the other. First comes the deep ditch or moat, then the outer wall, planted with towers at convenient distances, each pair commanding the curtain wall between them, so that assailants endeavouring to batter in the curtain (which was, of course, the weakest part) were exposed to a cross-fire. Inside there was another fortified wall, the space between the two walls being broken up with cross-divisions, so as to isolate a storming-party which might have breached the outer defence. The keep was dispensed with, its place being taken by an open court, walled and towered at the corners, and having its hall, its chapel, and its living-rooms and offices, built against the walls. Between it and the second line of defence there was sometimes a moat—always some work which had to be carried—and this second ward was usually of sufficient size to accommodate a herd of cattle, driven in when a siege was expected. Sometimes, as at Caerphilly, which was a private fortress, begun in the last years of Henry III., the water formed the chief part both of the first and second line of defence; but, of course, this was not often possible. Occasionally, too, the ground did not permit or require the complete encircling arrangement, as at

[1 Round towers were so called, from a popular belief that Julius Cæsar had built such towers.]

Chepstow and Conway; but the desired result—a series of defences, each of which had to be successively carried, and each capable of resisting attack—was obtained none the less. The gateway which gave admittance to the castle was, of course, of the highest importance, and was an imposing structure. It was usually square, flanked by two drum towers, which commanded the approach, and the connecting parapet was either machicolated in the common fashion, or a sort of stone bridge was formed between the towers (remains

HARLECH CASTLE. *Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.*

exist at Neath and Pembroke) so as to serve the purpose of a bretache.[1] In front there was a portcullis, then a door, and at the back of the gatehouse (in the most perfect form) a second portcullis and door. In addition, the vaulted roof, covering the intervening space, was pierced with meurtrières, or apertures, for convenience in spearing an enemy who had surprised the warder. Such a fortress, with its inner ward arranged like a manor-house, was a far more comfortable building than the old Norman castle to live in, but it required a considerable garrison, and could only be maintained

[1] The wooden structure projecting from the wall or tower, so as to enable the defenders to repel assault, *e.g.* by shooting missiles through holes in its bottom, traces of which are seen at Coucy and Norham (I. p. 608).

Caerphilly Castle.

Chepstow Castle.

Conway Castle. *Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.*

ENGLISH CASTLES IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

at vast expense. As a defensive work the castle had, in truth, very nearly reached perfection at the very moment when the discovery of gunpowder was about to render its perfection useless. The English castles of this kind in Wales, such as Conway and Carnarvon, Beaumaris and Harlech—not to mention Alnwick and Bamborough, Ludlow and Warwick—form, indeed, a series unmatchable in all Europe, surpassed only by the earlier Coucy in the East of France, and by the later St. Sauveur; and this last example was built, not by a Frenchman, but by John Chandos, the great English captain of Edward III.'s wars.

The Edwardian Dwelling House.

Although in essentials the distinction between the castle and the residence was very marked, the residence retained, throughout the Decorated period, much of the outward semblance of the castle. It continued to be fortified, though its military appearance was frequently quite deceptive, its sole and inadequate means of defence being an easily drained moat. Inside it was usually a courtyard, having the lodgings, the hall, and the stables disposed round the sides, an arrangement which continued in vogue long after castles, as means of defence, had been definitely abandoned. When there was no moat, a tower of refuge was sometimes built near the house, and on the Scottish border the tower was very often the house itself. In the greater part of England, however, there is little doubt that the moated grange was the prevailing fashion, and the contract for such a building at Lapworth has been preserved. We learn from it that the walls were to be very thick, that the outer door was to admit of a drawbridge being fixed to it, that there were to be base chambers with windows and fireplaces, and a principal hall, forty feet long, for strangers and retainers, with small rooms opening out of it. This hall or "sovereign room" was a universal feature, and, with its lofty double windows, is usually taken for the chapel; but, as Mr. Parker points out, the lay apartment can be readily distinguished by the seats in the window-sills. The arrangement of its interior will be described on a later page (p. 166).

Coins.

The reign of Edward III. is, to the numismatist, a great epoch. The reigns of his two predecessors had been barren, although his grandfather's reign is famous as that in which

CARNARVON CASTLE.

Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.

the type of the King of England, as he was to appear on his coins, was fixed for two centuries. It is a boyish, beardless full face, with the hair falling from beneath an open "fleury" crown, in a long curl on each side of the head. It is purely conventional, bearing no trace of a resemblance to any Plantagenet that ever lived; but it did duty for ten kings of that race, and the first of the Tudors—remaining unchanged from the first coinage of Edward I. until the second or third of Henry VII. Then the arched crown appears, together with a genuine likeness, this time in profile, of the Tudor king. When Edward I. got back from the Holy Land, one of his first reforms was directed to the coinage. Clipping was universally prevalent, the Jews being supposed to be the worst offenders, though the statement that vast stores of clippings were found in their houses may be dismissed as being prompted by the hatred which led to their expulsion. At any rate, a vast number of both Jews and Christians, of the lower orders, suffered the cruel death of the coiner, and even a gentleman and a churchman like Guy, Prior of Montacute, was tried, convicted, and heavily fined. Seven years after the king's accession new dies were delivered for pennies, halfpennies, and farthings. Groats were also issued,[1] though it is doubtful if they had much circulation. They were not very beautiful coins; the conventional head on one side, and on the other the cross with pellets, though in some struck at Berwick there is a boar's head in two of the angles. But Edward I., if he punished clippers, was himself guilty of debasing the coinage by reducing the silver in the penny about one per cent. Probably this was not the only depreciation of the coinage, for in Edward II.'s reign the Commons prayed the king that the money should be current at the value it bore in his father's time. The second Edward troubled little about such matters, and his coins, limited to pennies and subdivisions of a penny, are hardly distinguishable from those of his father; but the coinage of his son became famous throughout Europe.

Gold Coins

The seventeenth year of Edward III. is memorable for the new coinage. It was not only a new coinage, but a coinage in gold. Three pieces were struck—florins, half-florins, and

[1] "Gros Tournais Englays que valent verayment quatre esterlings."

quarter-florins;—the largest to be current for seventy-two silver pennies—fifty went to the pound troy—the weight to be that of two little florins of Florence. It was a handsome

COINS OF EDWARD III
Groat. Noble. Florin.

coin, and showed the king on his throne between two leopards, the cross on the reverse in a tressure. The half-florin—or one leopard, as it was called in the royal proclamation—showed that beast, crowned, carrying the banner with the arms of France and England quarterly flowing over its

shoulders. The quarter bore a helmet on which was a lion passant guardant, crowned. They were handsome coins, but were ill received, merchants declining to accept a fiftieth of a pound of gold as equivalent to six shillings. They were, as we should now say, called in, and no doubt recoined, for they are extremely rare, not more than two or three of these florins being known to exist. Edward was, however, determined to have a current gold coinage, and at the end of 1343, the year (if we reckon from January) which had seen the appearance of the unpopular florins, he effected his purpose. The new issue was of nobles, maille nobles, and ferling[1] nobles; the large coin passing at six shillings and eightpence, thirty-nine and a half going to the pound of gold. The device was entirely new; and the coins, which were extremely beautiful, acquired immediate popularity. Edward is represented standing in his ship, the banner of St. George flying at the mast-head, in his right hand a sword, in his left a shield with the arms of France and England. It is not certain how the device came to be adopted. The notion that it was a claim to the dominion of the seas flattered, and flatters, the national sentiment; but it is probable that the design was intended merely to perpetuate the memory of Edward's success as an admiral, and has reference to the affair at Sluys, on Midsummer Day, 1340, where, under his personal captaincy, the English gained a victory over the French fleet. The popularity of the noble was European, so that there was great difficulty in keeping it in England; and in the two successive coinages which followed, the weight of gold was reduced to one-forty-second of the pound, without materially checking exportation. On all these pieces, up to 1360, Edward appears as, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland. Afterwards, as a result of the Peace of Bretigny, the style of King of France was dropped, and Lord of Aquitaine inserted in its place in the noble. After that date the claims to France and Aquitaine appear on the pieces of larger denomination, the claim to France only, on the smaller. In his silver coins Edward made little change, but groats and

[1] Maille nobles (from *médaille*, *maille*, a coin) were half nobles; ferling (*i.e.* fourthling) were quarter nobles.

half-groats were circulated as well as pennies, half-pence, and farthings.

Attempt at a Monetary Union.

But the popular feeling was all in favour of the gold coinage, and the Commons presented an article to the king asking him to issue a gold piece smaller than the quarter-noble. Their request received the royal assent; nothing, however, seems to have come of it. In like manner the royal attempt to establish an international circulation, founded on gold, between England, the country of the staple,

COINS OF EDWARD III.
a Quarter-florin. *b* Penny. *c* Half-penny. *d* Half-florin.

and Flanders, the country of the manufacture of woollens, proved abortive. It is, however, a curious piece of evidence of the antiquity of the idea of a monetary union.

H. E. D. BLAKISTON. The Universities.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the whole intellectual life of the English nation is derived from, and centres in, the two Universities,[1] which served as places of higher education or *studia generalia* to the regular and secular clergy, and thus to nearly all professional men. The University of Oxford—whose claims to have been founded by King Alfred, St. Neot, and St. Grimbald were based on legal

[1] *See ante*, Vol. I., p. 489 *seq.*

and literary forgeries, and are now known to be as mythical as the stories of Mempric, Brutus the Trojan, and the *Greeks* from *Crick*-lade—was already full-grown when St. Edmund Rich studied and taught there *c.* 1200. Thibaut d'Estampes, Robert Pullein, and the jurist Vacarius of Bologna lectured there between 1100 and 1150; and by 1190 Oxford Masters and Clerks were well known, and foreign students, such as Nicholas the Hungarian, to whom Richard I. granted an exhibition, were attracted. The early studies and customs are similar to those of Paris, and may well have taken shape after a recall of English students thence during Henry II.'s French wars; and Oxford gradually overtopped both Paris and Bologna. The earliest records of Cambridge are said to have been burnt by the townsmen in 1261; its origin may be attributed to a migration from Oxford in 1209. The Oxford students were subject only to the distant authority of their diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln; Cambridge obeyed the nearer see of Ely; the bishop's commissary, the Chancellor, subsequently became an independent academic official with ecclesiastical powers. The studies, mainly theological and legal, were already supervised by the Faculties when Giraldus Cambrensis visited Oxford in 1187 to give a public reading of his work on the Topography of Ireland. The degrees were in the nature of licences to teach, granted to the aspirant with great care and formality by those already qualified; and the necessary exercises both before and after graduation often took the form of lectures and disputations by which more junior students were instructed. Oxford in the thirteenth century had grown into a corporate society of teachers and scholars with a definite constitution and considerable privileges composed of learned guilds which promoted into their own higher grades candidates who had studied under their direction, by means of degrees, valid at first locally, but afterwards internationally. The full-blown teacher was a Master, Doctor, or Professor, and, when actually teaching, a Regent; the half-developed student, like the apprentice or the aspirant for knighthood, was known as a Bachelor; undergraduates were Grammarians, General Sophists, and Questionists. University buildings there were none till the old Congregation House was built in 1320; previously

Oxford: Origin.

business was transacted in the adjacent church of St. Mary, or in St. Mildred's; lectures and other forms of instruction were given in large rooms called schools, mostly private or monastic property.

Autonomy.

The masters of Oxford had no great difficulty in dispensing with the ordinary ecclesiastical superiors. They got rid of the Archdeacon of Oxford in 1346, and of their bishop after a complicated quarrel in 1368. They were not too polite to

SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

the Papal legates, though the Popes were the greatest patrons of universities. To the local abbeys they were fairly courteous. With the Dominicans, who settled in Oxford in 1221, and the Franciscans, who hurried after them in 1224, the relations were less harmonious; but the university availed itself of their excellent lecture-rooms and lecturers ("doing Austins" was a phrase for certain academical exercises three centuries after the suppression of the Augustinian friary), and eventually baffled their pretensions to be admitted to the theological degrees without the preliminary arts course on which Oxford education has always been based. With the

Town and Gown.

city of Oxford the struggle was more prolonged, but the victory even more decisive. Oxford, situated centrally on a great waterway, had long been a prosperous market-town; and the citizens, as well as the Jewish quarter, revenged themselves for the loss of their former quiet by practising manifold extortions on the clerks. The latter were always ready to fight, though of the numerous outrages those committed by the townsmen were on a larger scale. In 1209 the students dispersed in disgust; but the Papal legate laid the town under an interdict, and soon forced it to recognise the immunity of the clerks from lay jurisdiction, to pay an annual fine (the first endowment of the university), and to submit to regulations moderating the cost of lodgings and provisions. In 1244 the clerks sacked the Jewry, and the king quieted them by a decree consolidating the special powers of the Chancellor. The murder of a Scots scholar in 1248 gave the university an opportunity of obtaining a fresh charter of privileges which included acts of submission from the townsmen and Jews. In 1264 occurred the migration to Northampton, whither Cambridge had also retreated; and only the prompt interference of the king prevented a permanent coalition there. An act of sacrilege by some Jews in 1268 paved the way to their final humiliation. In 1298 the knavery and violence of the townsmen led to a really dangerous riot; and in 1355 occurred the great conflict of St. Scholastica's Day, in which the town, without having received serious provocation, commenced a wholesale massacre, with the assistance of a band of two thousand rustics, "crying Slay and Havoc!" The clerks prepared to leave Oxford for ever, but the combined forces of the Church and the Crown reduced the town to subjection, and the Chancellor received as compensation an absolute control of the market and an annual act of submission to his authority which lasted into the nineteenth century.

North and South.

There were also internal disorders, some arising out of the struggle for precedence between the Faculties, others due to the fact that young men coming from all parts of the country—Northerners and Southerners, Scots, Irish, Welsh, and foreigners—did not leave behind them their local animosities. Hence, of the two officials delegated by the Masters

to assist the Chancellor, one was the Northern and the other the Southern Proctor. Festivals of national or patron saints were suppressed, and jousts and tournaments kept at a distance. After the great secession to Stamford (I. p. 615) of the more studious and probably defeated Northerners, the king had to intervene to procure reunion. In 1385 they were still so sensitive that he had to prohibit the application to them of the designation of their allies, the Scotsmen; and till 1827 all candidates for a degree were statutably obliged to swear that they would never lecture at Stamford! Partly for similar reasons, no doubt, the scholars of the earlier colleges were generally selected from particular localities, and such connections survive in some cases. Bloodshed was a usual feature of these disturbances, and a disorderly career at the university often developed into armed brigandage on the king's lieges and was terminated by the dagger or the rope.

Cambridge.

The university of Cambridge, occupying a less central and more unhealthy situation, and having less powerful protectors, did not compete in popularity or privileges with the older society before the sixteenth century. It was not even formally recognised till it received the licence of Pope John XXII. in 1318. The students were more homogeneous than at Oxford, the religious Orders were less active there, and the number of eminent men produced by it was insignificant during this period. Oxford schools were renowned as a "staple product" at a time when Cambridge was famous only for eels.

Student Life.

The medieval undergraduate students were mainly lads of humble origin; though many older men, such as the monks or friars, shared their studies, and in rank they ranged from the poor scholar, who supported himself during term by the profits of licensed mendicancy or manual labour in the vacations, to the privileged sons of earls and nephews of bishops. At Oxford *c.* 1300 the number was about 3,000; for the estimate made by Archbishop FitzRalph of Armagh before the Consistory at Avignon in 1357, that there had been as many as 30,000 in his day, must be considered rhetorical. They lived in lodging-houses known as halls, where the meals were provided from a common fund and called commons (extra food was battels), while most scholars could rent a

small chamber as bedroom and study. One of the inmates, usually a Master, was the principal of the hall, and was responsible for the financial arrangements and for the maintenance of order; and the post was not unprofitable. A manciple,[1] or steward, catered for the party; and in most cases some lectures were provided within the hall. From wills and inventories may be estimated the extent of a clerk's possessions, which often included musical instruments and lethal weapons, besides a few books, bed-clothes, and some cooking utensils. On "legible," or full reading days, lectures went on from an early hour in the morning to some time after the noon-day dinner; but there were many non-legible days. Daily attendance at Divine service was a matter of course. All the steps in a man's progress to his degree, especially the process of Determination for the bachelor, and the Inception for the higher degrees, were marked by numerous disputations (a sort of *vivâ voce* examination), attendance at or delivery of lectures, licences, oaths, fees, ceremonies, and entertainments. The shorter vacations were usually, and the long vacation often, spent at Oxford and employed in private studies. A university education commenced at an early age with the acquisition of a working knowledge of Latin, the language of theology, law, and science, in the Schools of Grammar, where the text-books used were Terence and Priscian. To obtain the degree of B.A. required a four years' course of logic, and mastership was not reached till after seven or eight years of the seven arts and three philosophies (grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, with physics, metaphysics, and ethics), while the D.D. seldom attained his position of distinction before the twentieth year from matriculation. During the whole of this period the arts course was a severe one, and the discipline was really testing and the results brilliant. In the next century students of the type of Chaucer's clerks, Hendy Nicholas, John and Alein, and the loafers known as chamberdekyns,[2] were more common. The expenses of an ordinary university career of ten years ranged from £35 to four times that sum; but no doubt large

[1] The term is still in use at Oxford.

[2] Poor scholars, possibly in minor orders, unattached to any college or hall.

numbers never proceeded to a degree. The more popular of the teaching masters derived an adequate revenue from their pupils' fees, which were paid terminally and known as

Photo : Gillman & Co., Oxford.

THE MOB QUAD, MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Collections, a word still used for the examination at the end of a term's lectures.

The maintenance of poor clerks was an object which soon attracted the attention of the charitably disposed. The earliest attempts at endowment took the form of chests. The Frideswide Chest was the capitalisation by Grosseteste of the fine

Colleges.

paid annually by the abbey of Eynsham on behalf of the town of Oxford; and there were several legacies kept in coin in iron boxes, from which small loans were obtainable by the temporarily impecunious on depositing a valuable book, silver cup, or other article, sworn by the university stationer fairly to exceed in value the sum borrowed. Some of these funds showed a profit, probably unintentional, on this pawnbroking business; and before 1500 the total capital in circulation in this way was about 2,000 marks, an enormous sum for the time. The first regular exhibition fund originated in 1243 in a payment to be made by the priory of Bicester under the will of Alan Basset for two chaplains at Oxford. Bishop Kilkenny of Ely left money for a similar purpose to Barnwell Priory near Cambridge, in 1256. In 1249 Master William of Durham left 310 marks to Oxford University for the support of ten to twelve masters; and John Baliol carried out a penitential vow by maintaining a few poor clerks from the north in a sort of almshouse.

Merton College.

But the institution of the collegiate system in England is due to the brilliant administrative genius of Walter de Merton, Lord High Chancellor and Bishop of Rochester, who between 1262 and 1274 elaborated a scheme, by which he had intended to assign certain manors for the support of his eight nephews at the schools, into a complex foundation at Oxford, with statutes known as the Rule of Merton, from which most subsequent codes were more or less copied (I., p. 620). This establishment was an adaptation to the promotion of general learning of the best features of the monastic system, and had already been successfully tried at Paris. The incorporated Scholars or Fellows, described as the House, Hall, or College (*i.e.* corporation) of Scholars of Merton, were soon provided with a magnificent chapel (by the rebuilding of an impropriated parish church), a fine hall and kitchen, and common dormitories, from which corners were partitioned off to serve as private studies or *musaea*. The members were provided with instruction, pocket-money, clothes (then called *livery*), and all other necessaries. They swore to obey the rules of the house, and were obliged to take the usual arts course of logic, philosophy, etc., proceeding usually to the study of theology. A scholar vacated his place if he accepted a

benefice or entered a monastic order. His conduct was reviewed minutely by his fellows at the scrutinies, or chapters, which resembled those of the religious Orders. The government was vested in the seven or eight seniors, at the head of whom was the Warden, who was charged specially with the care of the estates, and received considerable allowances

TOMB OF WALTER DE MERTON, ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

for the exercise of hospitality. Other disciplinary, financial, or religious functions were entrusted to Deans, Bursars, and Chaplains. There were also some "poor boys," who were educated to fill vacancies as they occurred among the scholars. Many of the regulations were monastic in character; but there was not the same absolute uniformity of life, and the perpetual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience were not required.

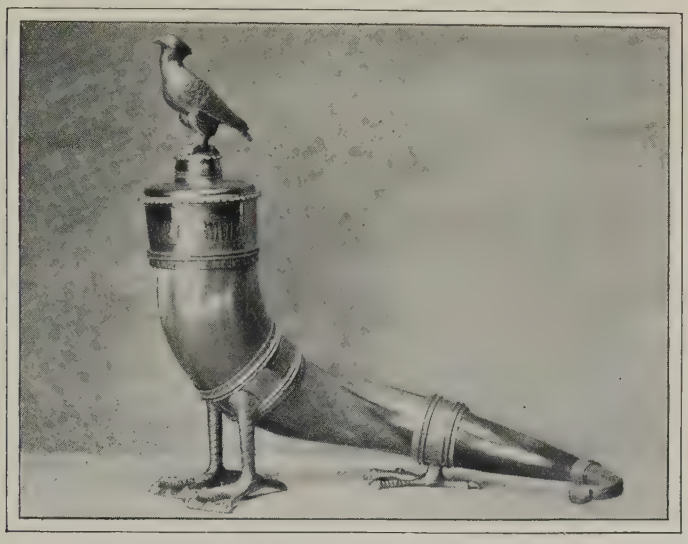
Cambridge Colleges.

At Cambridge, Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, founded Peterhouse, after the Merton rule, though on a less adequate scale, in 1284. In the same year Archbishop Peckham had to visit Merton College severely in order to correct several abuses and violations of the Founder's Statutes. At Oxford four small colleges sprang up at once. The trustees of William of Durham in 1280, and Dervorguilla, widow of John Baliol, in 1282, turned their exhibition funds into incorporated societies, soon to be known as University and Balliol Halls. These endowments were increased by subsequent benefactions, amounting, in the case of Balliol, almost to a refoundation by Sir Philip de Somerville in 1340. Stapledon Hall (afterwards Exeter College) was the work of Walter, Bishop of Exeter, in 1314. Edward II.'s almoner, Adam de Brome, founded in 1324 a more extensive "House of Scholars of St. Mary at Oxford," soon called Oriel College, from some architectural feature in one of the original tenements. The founder himself became the first Provost, and secured the patronage, first of the king, and then of Henry Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln. The first statutes were modelled on those of Merton, but in 1326 a fresh set was issued which made a degree a necessary qualification for a scholarship. This society was self-governing, like Merton; the other three halls were only partially independent of their trustees as governors. In 1324 a Chancellor of the Exchequer founded at Cambridge a very similar institution, Michael House, now merged in Trinity College. In 1338 Clare Hall absorbed an unsuccessful University Hall of 1326; and in 1337 Edward III. endowed munificently a "King's Hall of Scholars," which was also swallowed by Henry VIII.'s Trinity.

Foundation at Oxford.

"The Queen's Hall of Oxford" (1340) was the erection of Robert de Eglesfield, chaplain to Queen Philippa. The statutes are very ecclesiastical in tenor, and provide for theological studies, certain religious services, and the elementary education of "poor boys" as well as the usual objects. Some of the institutions are symbolical of the habits of the apostles, and some curious "canting" customs, such as the present of a needle and thread on New Year's Eve (*aiguille et fil* = Eglesfield), still remain. The next Oxford foundation was New

College, in many ways a new departure, in 1379. At Cambridge between 1346 and 1352 the Hall of Valence Marie (now Pembroke) was endowed by the widow of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; Gonville Hall (now Gonville and Caius), by Edmund Gonville and his executor, Bishop Bateman of Norwich, who himself founded Trinity Hall for students of civil and canon law; and the "House of Corpus Christi," by a local guild of that name, under the patronage



THE FOUNDER'S HORN, QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

of Henry, the "good Duke" of Lancaster. Several of these establishments were quite humble, and often added to their revenues by letting their spare rooms to strangers, at first elderly, who were known as Perendinants,[1] or as Commoners, since they paid for a place at the common table, to which the college farmers, or artisans, or friars were often invited as guests. The original buildings were mostly heterogeneous and unsystematic. All were intended to shelter that particular class of students in which the founders were interested from the temptations to idleness and vice to which young men living at a distance from their families were exposed in

[1 "Indwellers," boarders.]

medieval towns; and it speaks well for Merton and the "similar halls" that their members, possibly because almost entirely restricted to their college bounds, appear to have taken no part in the great riot of 1355.

The Monasteries and the Collegiate System.

The Benedictine monasteries, themselves for many centuries the chief guardians of learning, soon saw the value of this collegiate system. University teachers were generally abler than the local Masters of the Novices who taught in the cloister the "primitive sciences" of grammar, logic, and philosophy; but the Benedictines had no settlement at Oxford or Cambridge, and disliked the association of Regular with Secular clerks in halls or lodgings. In 1283 the abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester secured a benefactor, and their "nursery or mansion-place" for thirteen student-monks was soon enlarged by the addition of distinct hostels there for nearly every large Benedictine house in the South of England. The great northern abbey of Durham began about 1286 a separate Hall, which became very important as Durham College, and was fostered by two Bishops of Durham, Richard de Bury, the greatest book-collector of the Middle Ages, who left his library to the students, and Thomas Hatfield, the great architect, who gave it a permanent endowment for eight monks and eight secular scholars. Both societies were originally supported by levies from the parent abbeys or cells; both perished at the Reformation, though remains of their buildings may be seen incorporated in Worcester and Trinity Colleges. The Benedictines kept an officer, the "Prior of Students," at each university; but at Cambridge there was no Hall till 1428. Oxford was more frequented by the religious Orders; and the Benedictines of Canterbury secured a house of their own, now included in Christ Church, from Archbishop Islip in 1363. The Augustinians and Cistercians, being able to lodge at St. Frideswide's or Rewley, did not move till 1435 and 1437 respectively. The monastic students were comfortably maintained; but they became eminent as administrators and historiographers rather than as philosophers and theologians.

The universities thus afforded an open career to rich and poor clerks alike, and men who showed ability there often

SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS CANTILUPE, HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

Eminent Teachers.

rose to the highest places in the kingdom. Among the earlier Oxford teachers were the three canonised bishops Edmund Rich (Canterbury), whose M.A. degree is the earliest recorded; Richard of Wych (Chichester); and Thomas Cantilupe (Hereford), Simon de Montfort's Chancellor and the last English saint; Ralph of Maidstone, Bishop of Hereford, who came with a migration from Paris in 1229; Francesco d'Accorso, invited from Bologna by Edward I. to lecture on Roman law; Bishop Cobham of Worcester, who founded the first university library in 1320, though the books had to be taken away by force from Oriel College in 1337; Archbishop John Stratford, and his brother Robert, Bishop of Chichester, both Chancellors of England; Richard FitzRalph of Armagh, the great opponent of the unscrupulous friars of the fourteenth century; William Shyreswood (died 1349), who wrote the chief text-book on logic; Robert Holcot, one of the most widely famed scholastic expositors of Scripture, who, with Bradwardine, FitzRalph, and others, formed the circle patronised by Richard de Bury; and John Wycliffe (Master of Balliol, 1360), the last Schoolman and the first Reformer. But the most important set of men during this period is the group known as the Oxford Schoolmen, and of these the majority were connected with the Dominican or Franciscan Orders.

The Oxford Schoolmen.

The original schoolmen, such as John Scotus Erigena, Roscellinus, Anselm, Peter Lombard, and Abelard, occupied themselves with speculation of a dialectical character in metaphysics and divinity, based on Aristotelian logic filtered through Porphyry and Boëthius (I. p. 486). But this philosophy was completely transformed by the introduction into Western Europe, chiefly through Arabic and Latin versions, of Aristotle's Metaphysics, Physics, Psychology, and Ethics, and by the partly Neo-Platonic, partly Peripatetic writings of Arabian and Jewish philosophers. The new doctrines at first excited alarm, and were censured by a Council of Paris in 1209; but they were soon appropriated by theologians, and modified to suit the dogmas of the Church. The "Irrefragable Doctor," Alexander of Hales, a friar from Gloucestershire, taught at Paris before 1245; Robert Grosseteste, afterwards the famous Bishop of Lincoln, and the staunch protector of the clerks,

attracted large crowds to the Franciscan schools at Oxford, built by their first English provincial, Agnello da Pisa. Grosseteste (I., p. 574) was a man of indefatigable energy and independence; he translated Aristotle's Ethics from the Greek, studied Hebrew and physical science, and gave Oxford scholasticism a European reputation. Among his pupils were Roger Bacon, and Adam Marsh, the "Illustrious Doctor," a man of multifarious interests and wide political influence.

Meanwhile, the newer Scholasticism had received more systematic treatment at the hands of Albertus Magnus, the "Universal Doctor" (and reputed magician), in his scheme of rational or philosophised theology, and from his pupil, St. Thomas of Aquino, the "Angelic Doctor," who effected the most perfect accommodation that was possible of the Aristotelian principles to ecclesiastical orthodoxy. The main doctrines of the *Thomists* were the immanence of universals[1] and the demonstrability of the existence of God from the contemplation of the world as His work. Aquinas was a Dominican, as were two other eminent Oxford men, Robert Bacon and Archbishop Kilwardby; his chief disciple in England was the "Profound Doctor," Thomas Bradwardine, a fellow of Merton, designated Archbishop of Canterbury and of great influence as confessor to Edward III. Partly, no doubt, from jealousy this system was soon attacked by the Franciscan teachers, who, moreover, were imbued with the ideas of Averröes and of Neo-Platonism, which St. Thomas rejected dogmatically. They found a leader in John Duns Scotus, the "Subtle Doctor," an Oxford friar from Northumberland, who taught at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne, where he died at an early age in 1308. The Scotists or Dunces (a term afterwards misused), as his followers were called, attached immense value to logic as a science. Their strength lay in negative criticism; and while they demanded a strict faith in all the tenets of the Christian Church and the corresponding philosophical positions, they exercised considerable scepticism as to the arguments by which these were supported. Having destroyed the rational grounds of belief, they left nothing but the unconditional will of God, set over against the voluntary submission of the believer to the

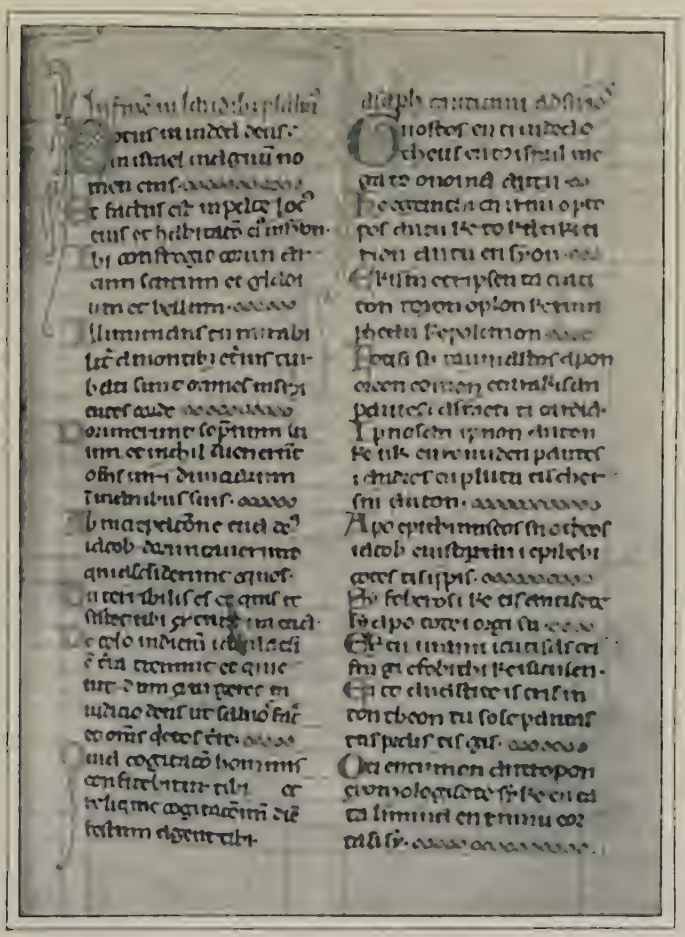
[1 *See ante*, Vol. I., p. 484, on the controversy between Nominalists and Realists.]

authority of the Church, as the basis of a man's religious convictions. The influence of Duns was so great in England that the system of Aquinas never regained popularity; the Franciscans became arrogant, and made themselves unpopular by proselytising from other orders and by enticing mere boys to take vows, against the wishes of their parents. A Franciscan Archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham, protected them; but they excited a powerful enemy in Archbishop FitzRalph.

Ockham. The last of the Schoolmen proper, the "Invincible Doctor," William of Ockham (in Surrey), was also an Oxford Franciscan, and a pupil of Duns, to whose doctrines he applied his own principles of criticism. He took a prominent part in the struggle against Pope Clement VI., by whom he was imprisoned at Avignon and excommunicated; and he died at Munich about 1349. In his voluminous political and theological works, he abandoned all attempt to harmonise philosophy and theology; and, denying that any theological doctrine was demonstrated by reason, made even the existence and unity of God solely articles of faith. By renewing the theory called Nominalism—namely, that the particular thing alone has any real existence—he paved the way for the inductive method in the investigation of external nature and psychical phenomena.

Learning. Though some attempts were made to understand Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic writings, there was during this period nothing resembling the modern study of literature known as classical scholarship. The Schoolmen wrote in a barbarous jargon of Latin, and their arguments are cast in extremely technical and complicated forms derived from the syllogistic method of Aristotle. The great classical authors were, however, preserved in the libraries of the rich monasteries, as at St. Alban's, Glastonbury, York, and Durham. Richard de Bury obtained many manuscripts from Italy early in the fourteenth century; and wrote the "Philobiblon" on the book-collector's pursuits; but collections like his were rare before the time of Duke Humphrey. The monks of Durham College, even before De Bury's bequest, frequently received parcels of books from the fine library of Durham, of which the catalogues are preserved. Ancient or contemporary history

and geography were left mainly to the monkish chroniclers; the most popular work was the "Polychronicon," or Universal History of a Chester Benedictine, Ranulph Higden (d. 1364),



PSALTER IN LATIN AND GREEK, FROM RAMSEY ABBEY.
(*Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*)

which contains an extraordinary farrago of popular delusions, as well as a vast amount of real information. French was taught in the schools of grammar as well as English, as the pupils were required to translate from Latin into either language.

Natural Science: Roger Bacon.

But of all the philosophers of this period, in which there are traces of interest, though few of advance, in scientific studies, the most encyclopedic was Roger Bacon, who, after devoting twenty years of patient labour and over £2,000 to scientific investigations, committed the mistake of joining the Franciscans at Oxford. He soon learnt that to confront authority with experience, or break away from the useless intricacies of scholastic metaphysics, was an unpardonable offence; and his work was thwarted at every turn till 1266, when the French Pope, Clement IV., heard of his researches and asked for a short account of his results. This was not yet composed; but the Papal mandate, undiscerning as it was, set Bacon free; and in fifteen or eighteen months he produced a comprehensive survey of the whole range of science, as science was then understood. Theology, grammar, mathematics, geography, chronology, music, the correction of the calendar, optics, chemistry, mechanics, and ethics are successively discussed. He intended to note every kind of natural phenomenon in connection with metals, plants, colours, animals, agriculture, and medicine. The whole of his work is marked by an appreciation of the function of applied logic, which it was reserved for his more fortunate namesake, Francis Bacon, to popularise. On many subjects, such as astrology and alchemy, Bacon shared the superstitions of the age in which a Pope wrote a treatise on the transmutation of metals; and in this he may plead excuses which are not available to a seventeenth-century inquirer. But when he insisted on the necessity of experiment in natural science, and of accurate versions in using Greek and Arabic treatises, he did more for the advancement of learning than if he had actually invented gunpowder, clocks, and telescopes, or explained the rainbow. Bacon was reimprisoned by Pope Nicholas IV., but released in 1292; his superiors managed to suppress his writings so effectually that nothing was printed till 1733. His name, with that of his friend, Friar Thomas Bungay, was traditionally associated with the Black Art; the tales told of his talking brazen head, and his moving statues, may be due to his unceasing efforts to obtain accurate geometrical and astronomical instruments, the scarcity of which, and of adequate translations, he often deplores. Robert Bacon,

the influential Dominican, and John Baconthorpe, Provincial of the Carmelites (1329), who was called "the Averröist," from his attempts to reconcile the Arabian philosophy with the arguments of Aquinas, were respectively uncle and nephew of Friar Roger.

Grosseteste before Bacon, and Bradwardine after him, studied physical science and astronomy; and Bradwardine at least, who, as a young man, had been one of Richard de Bury's secretaries, had a first-hand acquaintance with the works of Seneca, Ptolemy, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Isidore, and the early schoolmen, and his treatise "On the Cause of God" is the source of much of English Calvinism. But scientific discovery rose only on the ruins of Scholasticism; and it is not the least surprising of his achievements that the persecuted Oxford friar, even more hopefully than the philosophising Lord Chancellor, marked the destinies of the experimental method, and, with no magic but that of a single-hearted devotion to truth,

"Saw the Vision of the world and all the wonder that would be."

ROBERT STEELE. Science and Pseudo-Science.

THE special feature of this period is the growth of interest in natural science. No doubt the knowledge of Nature diffused through the community, especially in the form of "old wives' sayings," had always been considerable; but up to this time there existed neither the means of getting information readily, nor of imparting it to any wide circle of learners. It is not that the disposition was wanting; on the contrary, we have a long succession of treatises, beginning in Bede's time, dealing with popular science in the vulgar tongue, and valuable alike philologically and as showing the sciences in demand. But the circulation of these was limited to a few monasteries, and hardly ever reached the outside world. Now, however, new sources of knowledge had been tapped, new centres of study were crowded, and new means of propagation through the length and breadth of the civilised world were in their first outburst of life.

Astronomy and medicine, with their allies astrology, magic, and alchemy, are the first sciences cultivated in any country, and most of the treatises above referred to fall under one of

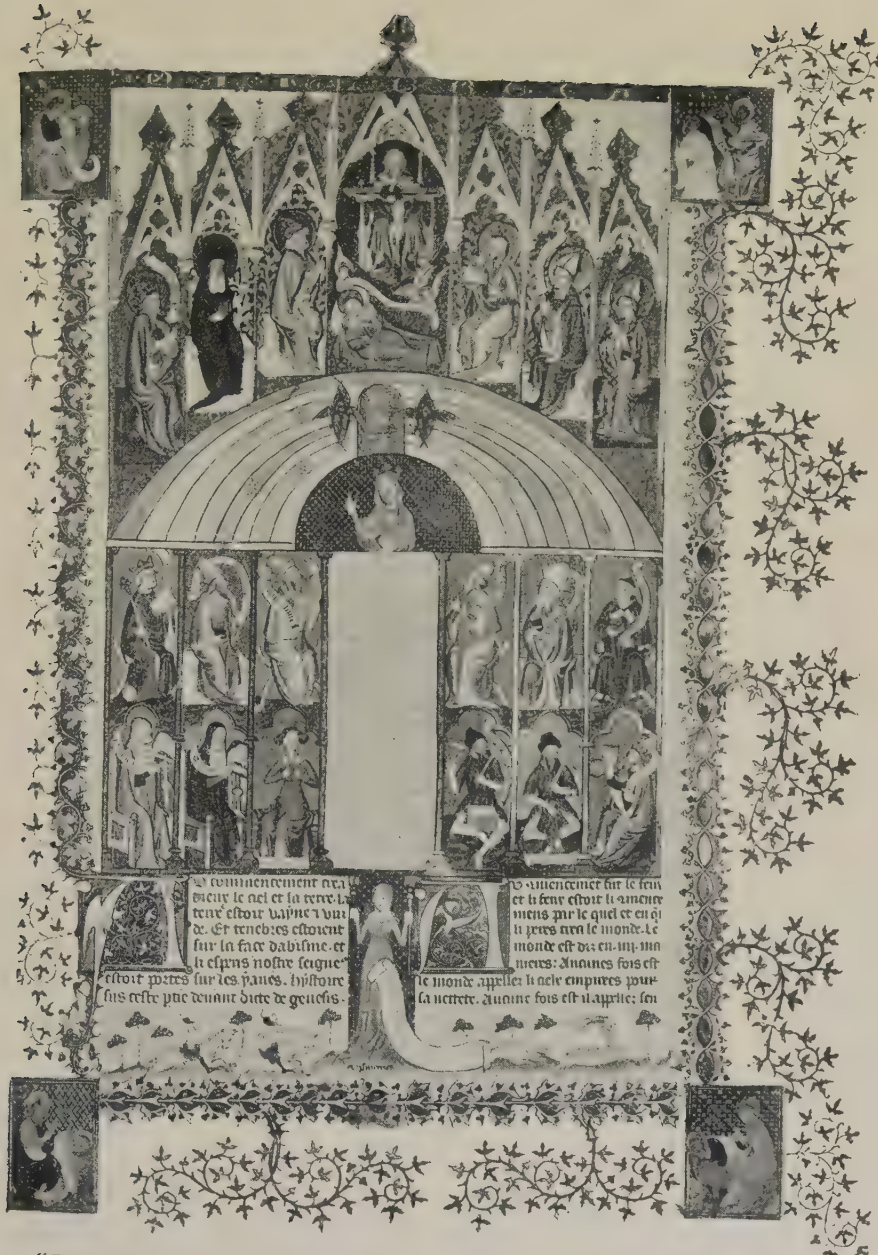
these heads. The medicine of the early English folk consisted largely of the knowledge of simples and of charms, while their astronomy was devoted, as astronomy has been since the birth of time, to the calculation of the recurring religious festivals. Among medieval Christians the system of fixing these was sufficiently complex. As is well known, the movable feasts depend on the date of Easter; and the necessity of making this an anniversary, and also a lunar festival, of insuring that it should not fall on the Jewish Passover, and of avoiding the Quartodeciman[1] heresy, led to its being fixed for the first Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon after the spring equinox. Up to this period astronomers had been unable to get a proper length for the solar year, the equinox was yearly falling earlier than the calendar date, and the seasons of the year seemed to be falling into confusion. The priests of Bremen, indeed, on one occasion when a full moon fell between the true and calendar equinox, kept Easter a month before the rest of the Christian world and earned for themselves the name of Pre-menses;[2] but such heroic remedies were not for all, and one of Bacon's most pressing appeals to the Pope was for a reformation of the calendar.

Eastern Influence.

The Eastern world—opened to us, not by the Crusades, but by the settlements in Sicily, Spain, Tripoli, and Syria, where Moslem and Christian lived in friendship side by side, and where the Jew was tolerated by both—had inherited and added to the scientific traditions of the Greek world, and the results of Eastern science were now laid open to the West by translations. A few translations from the Arabic were made in the early years of the twelfth century, but the bulk of them were made in the early part of the thirteenth century. The new learning soon altered the character of the places where it was taught. Up to this time all learning had passed through the great monasteries, was received by monks, was in general limited to monks of one order, and

[1 The keeping of Easter at the time of the Jewish passover, *i.e.* on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, whatever day of the week it might be. The Councils of Nicaea (325) and Antioch (341) ordered the festival to be kept as described in the text.]

[2 An obvious pun on "Bremenses" (men of Bremen), suggesting the sense "before the month."]



"THE HIERARCHY OF THE SCIENCES," AS CONCEIVED BY MEDIÆVAL THOUGHT.
Frontispiece to the Berri Bible (MS. Harl. 1585.)

was deeply tinged by the channels it passed through. The new matter, coming from Moslem sources through Jewish interpreters, was distinctively secular, and the Universities, just rising into prominence, gave an opportunity for its study. The international character of these bodies, maintained by the acceptance of each other's degrees, led to a fluidity of learning up to then unknown; but while the Universities were, and remained, secular bodies, most of their students and most of their teachers were studying with one object—to become better preachers. The preaching friars, black or grey, Dominican or Franciscan, were still in their early outburst of enthusiasm, ripened by a generation's experience. Owning neither corporate nor private property, they passed from place to place, gathering knowledge and experience, and using it at the will of their superiors, as teachers in the University, or as preachers in the market-place. Just as Anselm, Lanfranc, and Abelard had taught in a monastery to an audience of monks, so Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bartholomew Anglicus, Alexander Hales, Ricardus Rufus, and a host of other friars, taught in the medieval Universities, and were heard by friars and their novices.

We have, then, when forming our mental picture of England at this period, to take into account that in every village of our land, men skilled in the science of their time were using it, as they had been taught it, in illustration of every text they preached on, of every doctrine they taught, and that thus general notions of science were becoming familiar to the mass of the people. That science, however, bore but little relation to our own, and it now becomes our task to show of what nature were the beliefs thus spread among our forefathers.

Astronomy. Practical astronomy had reached a state of great perfection, considering the imperfect instruments at the command of observers, and tables of over 1,000 fixed stars and planets had been drawn up in the East from an early period. One of these, probably the Persian tables of the eleventh century, fell into the hands of Roger Bacon, who (1267) calls them "Almanachs." Just at this period, too, the celebrated Alphonsine tables were drawn up at Toledo by Jewish astronomers from Arab sources. The English men of science were among the

first in Europe to receive and spread the knowledge of astronomy, and they speedily came to the forefront. The best known of them all is John of Halifax, whose treatise on astronomy, founded on the Arabic of Alfaragan, exists in

FIGURE OF THE PLANET MARS.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

innumerable MSS, and ran through sixty editions in the first century of printing; while the works of forty writers, nearly all Oxford men, remain to attest the fruitfulness of this period. But the theoretical astronomy of the day was fundamentally

wrong, and had to be proved so by centuries of toil, dragged meanwhile at the heels of every charlatan of later days.

Astrology. As we all know, people used to suppose that the earth was in the centre of the universe, and that the heavens lay round it in an enormous vault, revolving once every day. The fixed stars scattered over the sky were early gathered into constellations; the most notable of these formed a belt round the heavens called the zodiac, divided into twelve signs or constellations; within this belt the planets have their apparent path. Each sign of the zodiac was supposed to have its peculiar action on Nature, animate or inanimate, and to act on the other signs, and as the lines of force came near the earth or not, their effect on its inhabitants was great or small. At the moment of birth their effect was especially great, the most important being the sign rising in the East, and that vertically overhead. The action of the planets, too, was of equal importance. To study it the heavens were divided into twelve equal portions, starting from a point depending on the position of the sun and moon at the instant of birth. This point was called the horoscope. To each division was assigned a part of the destiny of the child—fortune, marriage, war, death, etc. etc. Each of these houses or divisions was again divided and subdivided, planets were assigned to each subdivision, and if a planet chanced to be at the time in a fortunate subdivision of an appropriate house, the result was an enormous increase of its power. Thus the "Secreta Secretorum"—the most typical medieval book remaining—tells us of the weaver's son who was born when Venus and Mars were in their own degree in the signs of Gemini and Libra, thus promising that he should be wise, courtly, of good counsel, and loved by kings; and who, accordingly rose through the most adverse conditions to be the king's vizier.

Another important office of medieval astrology was to pronounce on the proper time for doing anything, whether it were marriage, a journey, or a war. Thus if one wishes to succeed in war, commence when the house of the moon is vertically overhead, and when Mercury is in a favourable relationship to it. If one wishes to make a journey, arrange that the houses of journeying, and the constellations governing the cities to which one travels are in the ascendant, and the house

which governs the object of one's journey should be directly beneath the earth. If one wishes to take medicine or to be bled, the astrologer again steps in. You cannot be bled while the moon is in Taurus or Pisces, nor in the new moon, nor

FIGURE OF THE PLANET MERCURY.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

if it is in conjunction with another planet in a watery sign, and you must look out for the position of Mercury and Saturn. For scarification a different set of rules prevails. Medicine is to be taken while the moon is in Libra, Scorpio, or Pisces, but it will be fatal if Saturn is in conjunction.

It will thus be seen that to start in life as a medieval astrologer required a considerable amount of real astronomical skill, as well as an intimate knowledge of a vast number of rules, most of them arbitrary, or founded on ancient myths; and that in course of time an enormous mass of real observations, taken to check the tables used, would be accumulated. In fact these observations ultimately led to the destruction of the system on which they were based. But it may be asked, What did the Church say to all this? Practically, though with occasional exceptions, it said what an early English translation of the "Secreta Secretorum" says: "He that is a perfect student in this science may know and see perils that are to come of wars, pestilences, famine, and other things for which he may ordain remedy (and if thou canst find no remedy, it is good that thou pray heartily to God that He ordain remedy). For whatever evils the planets show in their working, good men may so pray unto God, by orisons, fasting, sacrifice, alms-deed-doing, and penance for their sins, that God will turn, resolve, and revoke all that men fear."

THE DANGERS OF ASTRONOMY.
(MS. Roy. 6 E· vi.)

Medicine. We have just seen how medicine linked itself to astrology; we now turn to its connection with magic and alchemy. Our forefathers brought with them to this land a belief in runes and spells, and when the medical man, at first a stranger, probably a Jew, settled among them, the cures he wrought were set down to the superior efficacy of his charms. A book of counsels to young practitioners (1300) gives curious side-lights on the manners of the time. It seems he was expected from a sight of the patient's urine, to pronounce on the age, sex, and malady, and that usually a preliminary trial of his ability was made by trying to impose upon him with some counterfeit liquid. He was cautioned to use long words that

THE PHLEBOTOMIST'S GUIDE.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

would not be understood, never to visit a patient without doing something new, lest the patient should say "he can do nothing without his book"; and, in short, to sustain a reputation for infallibility at all costs. Such men were not likely to combat popular beliefs, if they did not directly encourage them. Bacon quoted Constantine (the introducer of Arab medicine into Europe) with the express approval of the use of charms. These talismans, said he, are not to be used because they can bring about any change, but because they bring the patient into a better frame of mind.

One often wonders that pretensions so utterly baseless as those of magic were not exploded at once. Several reasons prevented this from being the case. We must remember that this was an era of dawn when wonderful things were expected if one left one's own parish. It was a matter of everyday knowledge that there was a place in Ireland where men could not die, cinnamon was shot from the phœnix's nest with leaden arrows, the Wandering Jew was alive and might visit one some day, and all the dreams of the Arabian Nights were happening somewhere. Learned men like Albert and his pupils were laboriously collecting stories of the properties of animals, plants, and stones, and verifying them when possible. The science of the age was as destitute of perspective as its art had been, and nothing, however marvellous, was, *prima facie*, impossible to the men of the period.

Magic. The magic of our forefathers may be gathered from the Penitential of Theodore in the seventh century, where its practices are enumerated and their due penance allotted. Many of them are still common among the peasantry. The laws of Edgar, Athelstan, and Canute forbid it, punishing it as a crime when used as a means of inflicting personal injury on another, much as they would manslaying. A curious trial for witchcraft may be read in the life of Hereward the Wake. The Normans brought into England a new cycle of stories, such as the Melusine legend; and soon the tale spread how Herodias continued her unholy dance in the woods, sometimes confused with Diana, or with a certain Habunda. The progress of the story can be read in Walter Map, John of Salisbury, Matthew Paris, and the "Romance of the Rose." Women from all parts come to join in the revels. Then the

story grew, and the Evil One was present at the gathering, and was adored with obscene rites. Lastly, men began to whisper of a compact between the necromancer and the fiend, and Black Magic was fully established in the popular imagination. Now the Church stepped in, and the crime became that of heresy, though in England it was still under the cognisance of the civil courts. But, side by side with this offspring of popular imagination was the White Magic of the age, largely composed of a knowledge of what may be called sympathetic properties of things—thus chrysolite, being clear and bright, typified wisdom. Accordingly the wearing of chrysolite brings wisdom. It is certain that a man who thought he could become wise by putting a piece of chrysolite in his right ear would be very slow to find that the charm was ineffectual. Other charms may be explained by self-hypnotism, etc., and by the action of drugs and fumes. Others, such as "tying the knot," acted strongly on the mind of the person charmed. Others again are surrounded by such a network of ritual that failure is almost inevitable, or depend on rare conjunctions of planets. Lastly we must remember that till the invention of printing, books containing the necessary information rarely were in the hands of any one who desired to practise magic, but that they were invariably regarded as containing proved facts, unnecessary and perhaps unlawful to be repeated, which tended to throw light on the nature of things, and to explain hidden scriptural allusions. It must be admitted, however, that a class of magical books existed, whose charms relied on direct invocation of the Enemy of mankind, and whose very titles, with one or two exceptions like "De Morte Animæ," have perished. During the fourteenth century an important change took place consequent on the attitude of the Church. All magic was now considered by it as the result of a diabolical compact expressed or understood. Such credulity as the Crusade of the Shepherds and the conspiracy of the lepers to poison all the wells of Christendom show, in the popular mind, made the charge of magic (which was now heresy) against the Templars easily believed. In 1324 we find a woman burnt alive for magic at Kilkenny—the first person burnt for heresy in Ireland; and several other records of the same date

exist, such as John of Nottingham, the necromancer of Coventry, who died in prison before his trial, who made waxen images of the king and the Despensers. When we remember the science of the period, the men by and for whom it was collected, and the uses to which it was put, we cannot be surprised at the unquestioned belief in magic during the period.

Alchemy, too, the speculative and practical science of the day, first makes its appearance in England at this period, brought with medicine from its Eastern home. The earliest works translated from the Arabic were the Koran and a work on alchemy at the middle of the twelfth century. The first names connected with alchemy in England are those of writers on medicine; and the rise of alchemy at all was due to a mistaken analogy from medicine. As metals were considered to be all made of the same matter—sulphur and mercury—the differences between, *e.g.*, lead and silver were put down to a corrupt or diseased sulphur and mercury. This is brought out in the fable of the king and his leprous brothers, told by Dastyn, the English alchemist (*c.* 1200), where the drug that restores them to perfect health is the blood of the king. The common demand from medical practice was a panacea. Accordingly, alchemists sought for a panacea which should expel the corruption from the sulphur and mercury of the imperfect metals, leaving them pure silver or pure gold. Undoubtedly, the writings of Roger Bacon—especially his "Opus Minus"—gave a great impetus to the study of Alchemy. He was, like the other friars, rather a theoretical chemist than a practical one. When Alchemy became practical it was at once recognised that the alchemists could not make natural gold, and they accordingly

THE ERRING PRIEST, THE SORCERER, AND THE FIEND (MS. Roy. 10 E. iv.).

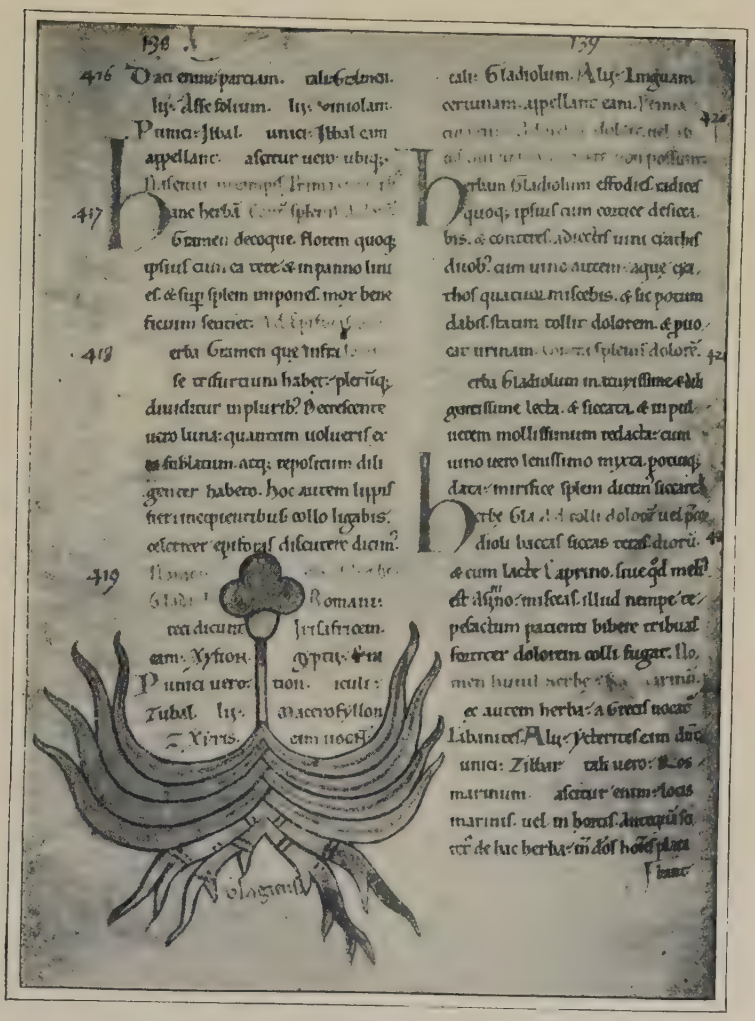
insisted that theirs was better. We can judge of the public feeling on the matter by reading the numerous proclamations against bad money. An old tradition connects our first and most beautiful gold coin with Alchemy. Raymund Lully was an ardent apostle of Christianity among the Moors, but finding they turned a deaf ear to him, he set himself to preach a crusade. Coming to England he found Edward III., who had just come to his power, was willing to aid, but funds were urgently needed—in what good cause are they not? Contrary to use, the preacher was willing to supply them. He asked for a room in St. Katherine's by the Tower, and a supply of lead, mercury, and tin, and in a few days turned out enough gold for an extended campaign. When the king got hold of the money, however, he broke faith with the simple brother, and used the money to fight the French with, imprisoning Lully till he made some more. Of course, this tale is untrue in all particulars—Edward's first gold coinage is in 1343, and Lully died years before Edward came to the throne; but it is certain that alchemy was flourishing in England then. We have a writ dated 1329 for the seizure of Master William de Dalby and John le Rous, who have made silver by the art of "Alkemony." Probably, however, the historical truth underlying this is that some fresh discoveries were made in the art of refining silver from lead, lead-mining being one of the great industries of England then. The warrants of appointment to the Mint mention at this time alchemy as one of the sources of the precious metals. In a very few years the practice of alchemy became so widespread that it grew a public danger, and "the craft of multiplying gold and silver" was declared a felony by statute in 1403.

A SUCCESS FOR THE BLACK ART (MS. Roy. 10 E. iv.).

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Medicine and Surgery.

THE theoretical medicine and surgery of England in the earliest times were those of the Byzantine writers, whose works, or excerpts from them, had a place in the libraries of monasteries. One or more of the monks, sometimes the abbot, would devote himself to a study of these authors, and so become reputed as a leech. From the writings of Alexander of Tralles or of Paulus of Ægina, the English practitioner of the time would make a collection of receipts, prescriptions, or leechdoms for the various injuries, wounds, and common maladies, substituting the native herbs when foreign drugs were not to be had. The resources of the native herbals were extensive, especially in the way of fomentations, plasters, or other outward applications, and in the form of decoctions; among the more potent herbs used in strong doses were pennyroyal, wormwood, feverfew, male-fern, sage, savine, sedum, betony, marsh-mallow, and costmary. King Alfred is said to have had sent him from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, by the hands of pilgrims returning from the Holy Sepulchre, a supply of Syrian drugs, including scammony, aloes, galbanum, ammoniacum, myrrh, and frankincense. The surgical instrument most used was the lancet in blood-letting. The days and hours for drawing blood, following the changes of the moon, were closely observed (p. 111), and it passed as a maxim that there was no time for phlebotomy so good as the season of Lent, when the evil humours, having gathered during winter, were waxing, in the hollow vessels of the body, just as the sap was stirring in the trees and worts. Many other rules derived from the doctrines of the humours and the qualities (hot or cold, moist or dry) were joined to the several leechdoms or prescriptions, while an august authority was claimed for the whole collection, as in the Anglo-Saxon Herbal of Glastonbury, which was the work of Apuleius Platonicus, handed down from Æsculapius and Chiron the Centaur. A prescription, or regimen, might have a special vogue: Oxa taught one, and Dun taught another, while the immemorial differences of the faculty were reflected in the words appended to a third, that "some teach it." None of the remedies were administered without ceremonial. While the medicine was being compounded, the patient would say twelve times over one of the

Psalms beginning *Miserere mei, Deus*,[1] then several *Paternosters*, "then drink the dose, and wrap thyself up warm;" or he



A PAGE FROM A HERBARY (MS. Harl. 1585).

would sing the Psalm *Salvum me fac, Deus*,[2] then drink the draught out of a church bell, the priest finishing the cure with the prayer over him, *Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens.*

[1] *E.g.* Ps. li. [2] Ps. xvi.

It was on consecrated ground that remedies had most power —at the shrine of a saint, or after touching the bier of a holy man, or at a holy well. Mixed with the ceremonial of the Church was a good deal of more or less incongruous heathenism—the traditional folk-lore of the country, in the form of charms, magic, and star-craft. Much of the treatment was, of course, purely domestic, especially in the ailments of children.

A PHYSICIAN CONJURING THE VEGETABLE WORLD (MS. Harl. 1585).

It is clear from the cases preserved by monkish chronicles that the maladies of the Middle Ages had an unusually large element of hysteria in them, so that a proportionately large element of faith came not amiss in the course of treatment. But the extant leechdoms provided for all the ordinary maladies of our own day, as well as for the usual injuries, wounds, and sores,—for consumptions, cancers, stone, gout, epilepsy, St. Vitus's dance, palsy, lethargy, whooping cough, catarrh, ague, megrim, rheumatism, stiff joints, deformities, dropsies, jaundices, hæmorrhages, fluxes, ruptures, prolapses, worms, and external parasites. The resources of surgery were comparatively few, and the instruments simple; but, of course, splints and bandages were used, heat was applied by cauteries or by hot bricks, and it was known how to stanch blood, to extract missiles, to reduce dislocations, and to perform the simpler operations of cutting, trepanning, and the like.

The medical and surgical teaching of the Byzantine authors, in English or Latin translations, or even in the original

Sources of Medical Doctrine.

Greek, remained the groundwork of practice in the English monasteries from the time of Bede to the Norman period. A few of its numerous manuals have survived the ravages of time and the final spoil of the monasteries, and are still to be seen in the libraries of chapter-houses or in other collections. The Byzantine teaching was succeeded by the Arabian, of which the more famous schools were at Salerno (from A.D. 1060) and Montpelier; and the Arabian medical writings in due time found their way to England, and became authoritative until the Reformation. Gilbert de Aquila, who was physician to Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, is said to

AN OPERATION.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

SURGEON OPERATING ON THE SKULL.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

have studied at Salerno in the end of the twelfth century. When the archbishop was on his deathbed at one of his manors, on the way to Rochester, suffering from a carbuncle in his back, his physician declared that the disease might have been cured if taken in time; but, from his judgment of the urine, he had now no hope, and advised the prelate to make his peace with God. The satirist of that age, John of Salisbury, becomes more than ordinarily biting in his references to medicine. For his sins he was in the doctor's hands oftener than he wished, and he will not exasperate the profession by any original reflections of his own; he contents himself with quoting the sentence of Solomon, that medicine is from the Lord God, and a wise man will not despise it. Greed, he hints, and love of power or authority, are the besetting vices of the physician; and those vices we know to have been common among the clergy in general. Love of gain grew so upon the monastery leeches that they were led to wander too far afield in attendance upon patients, so that they were at length wholly interdicted from meddling with physic and surgery by a decree of Innocent II., in 1139, and again by a decree of the Council of Tours, in 1163. By the canon law, in like manner, no Jew might give medical advice or physic to a Christian. But those decrees of the Church were easily evaded by the monks and by the Jews

Jewish Physicians.

EXTRACTING AN ARROW-HEAD.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

equally, probably because they had no competent rivals. There were Jews practising medicine at every Court of Europe; in the twelfth century the learned men of that nation were, indeed, the chief depositaries of the Arabian medical teaching, which was then the dominant authority. One of the Jewish physicians in England, a skilful and humane man, who perished in the massacre of his countrymen at Lynn in 1190, seems to have stood for the Rabbi Ben Israel in "Ivanhoe."

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS (MS. Roy. 6 E. vi.).

When we next hear of physicians in England, it is in association with the Franciscan friars. Peter, rector of Wimbledon, physician to the queen (of Henry III.), is mentioned in a letter of Adam de Marsh to Grosseteste as a man of excellent reading and of great probity, by whose hands he wished his copy of Aristotle's "Ethics" to be returned. Another of the same period was Reginald de Stokes, of Oxford, "an honourable man of mature judgment, of advanced learning and skill in the arts and in medicine, whose knowledge of the world, circumspect discretion, mature discourse, and humble devotion made him worthy of trust." The Franciscan missionaries had been hardly a generation in England before they became identified with learning. The most famous of the order at Oxford was Roger Bacon (p. 102), who included medicine in the wide range of his studies. Few of the physicians of that age, he said, knew astronomy, and so they neglected the better part of medicine. He applied, also, his chemical knowledge to the removal of diseases and the lengthening of life; he knew how to make tinctures and elixirs, among them a tincture of gold which was good for the renewal of youth.

The Friars in Medicine.

Roger Bacon was an innovator in medicine, as in other things, and he suffered for his too great zeal in mundane research. It is singular to observe the claim he makes, as if

Medicine and Astrology.

to conciliate the Church, that astrology had also an application to ethics; but its chief use was in medicine, and by the time that Roger Bacon had been dead a whole century a knowledge of astrology was everywhere admitted to be the qualification of an academical physician and as distinguishing him from a quack. There is nothing to show that John of Gaddesden, the first English writer on medicine (1316), was an educated physician in that sense, although he was a dexterous plagiary. But the physician in Chaucer was grounded in "astronomy," a science which taught him how to choose a remedy suited to the particular case—to the complexion or constitution of the individual, to the season, to the locality or climate—which was a very different thing from merely repeating the generalities of Avicenna. Even in plague itself, which was a practically uniform type of disease at all times and in all countries, it was necessary to resort to astronomy; and it was in the plague that this physician had made his money. Chaucer's physician corresponds exactly to a well-known physician of the time, John of Burgoyne, who passes as Sir John Mandeville. "They that have not dronken of that sweete drynke of astronomye," says Burgoyne, "may putte to these pestilential sores no fit remedies. . . . He that knoweth not the [astrological] cause, it is impossible that he heal the sickness." Chaucer's physician is richly clad, and so is Physic in the other poem of the time, "Piers Plowman"—in a furred hood and a cloak of calabre (squirrel fur), with buttons of gold. The ploughman, however, thought that physic was hardly an honourable calling. "There be more liars than leeches," he cries; "Lord, them amend!" and he looks forward to the time when the English would be so abstemious that Physic, having nothing to do, might sell his expensive costumes and "learn to labour with land, lest livelihood fail."[1] The best-known surgeon of the time was John Ardern, who practised first at Newark and then in London, in the latter part of the fourteenth century. He has left a treatise on the cure of fistulas of all kinds, in one MS. of which he is himself pictured in gorgeous raiment; his instruments also are figured, and he gives the names of his patients, both lay and cleric, with many minute particulars of their sometimes compromising maladies, of the

[1] Text A, Passus vii. 258, *seqq.*

fees they paid him, and of the triumphs of his skill. Shortly after his time, the Barber-Surgeons were incorporated in a guild, both at London and York; and with these corporations the history of surgery enters on a new phase.

JOHN ARDERN (MS. Sloane 2002.)

BESIDES the popular and Court romances mentioned in the last chapter of Vol. I. there is much of romance, though of course not chivalric, in the religious epic, which, especially in the south, underwent great development in the second half of the thirteenth century. The abbey of Gloucester is the centre of activity for this form of literature, and the greatest variety of theme is noticeable, though little talent in the treatment. The growth of these legends in popular favour was greatly encouraged by the adoption of the French custom of reading the lives of saints in the church on festival days, for which the way had been paved by Aelfric's rhythmical homilies. The metres used were threefold, viz. short rimed couplets, tail-rime (Vol. I., p. 637), and a long-lined measure with a marked caesura in the middle, vacillating between the Alexandrine and the septenar, and generally called the Middle English Alexandrine. The second, originally a lyric measure, was never so popular with the religious poets as with the ballad-mongers, who adopted it about the same time (the end of the thirteenth century) for the chevalresque romance. The rimed couplet, which is the most important of the three, was the verse of the older versions of the "Assumptio Mariae" (*c.* 1250) and other subjects, *e.g.* the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemas. For

H. FRANK HEATH. Literature: the Religious Epic.

the lives of saints in the south the Middle English Alexandrine was chiefly used, and when this took the tetrameter form it was often adorned with middle-rime, which gave it the appearance of a strophe with cross-rime. The legends of St. Margaret (*c.* 1270), St. Catherine, and Mary Magdalen (rather later) were in this long-lined metre; that of Gregory and Mary Magdalene[1] in the same measure with division into short-lined stanzas by means of middle-rime. In the last quarter of the century these poems were collected into a cycle, consisting of a "Fragment of the Life of Jesus" and the lives of fifty-seven saints, those of England being very well represented. There was a second edition[2] which increased the total number by half and arranged them in accordance with the ecclesiastical year, while a still later revision (1370–78), made in the same district, included the religious literature of every dialect. But as time goes on these poems lose more and more of their epic and take on a purely didactic character. Stories are taken from all parts of the world, saints of all ages and countries are admitted with equal honour, tales full of tender sentiment are found side by side with others full of the coarsest, vulgarest realism whilst a constant tendency is seen to exaggerate the miracles and to compensate for want of novelty by a sensational colouring. A striking instance of this is the increasingly important *rôle* which the Devil plays. The chronicle of Robert of Gloucester stands in close relationship to the literature just discussed, for not only are his verse (Middle English Alexandrine) and style those of the southern cycle, but he made use of these tales, especially the life of St. Thomas à Becket, together with Geoffrey of Monmouth and other trustworthier writers as the sources of his history. It is a dull and moralising book, which traces the story of England from Brutus (as Layamon had done, with far more poetry, if with rather less learning), first down to 1154, and afterwards to 1270–2 in two continuations. It was probably finished about 1300. Robert as a lad had seen the thundery weather in which the battle of Evesham had been fought not thirty miles away, when Simon de Montfort had lost his life and

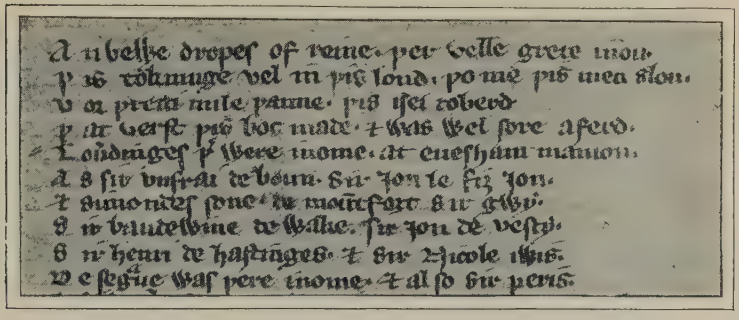
Didactic Poetry.

[1] Laud MS. 108, ed. E.E.T.S., 1887.
[2] MS. Harl. 2277, in British Museum.

the barons their leader. When he grew up he became a warm patriot, who looked on the Norman Conquest as a Divine punishment, and on the royal victory at Evesham as a national calamity.

Another "chronicle" written at Gloucester, rather later and even duller than Robert's, carries our history down to 1327 in its second edition.

More evidently didactic than either saints' lives or chronicles



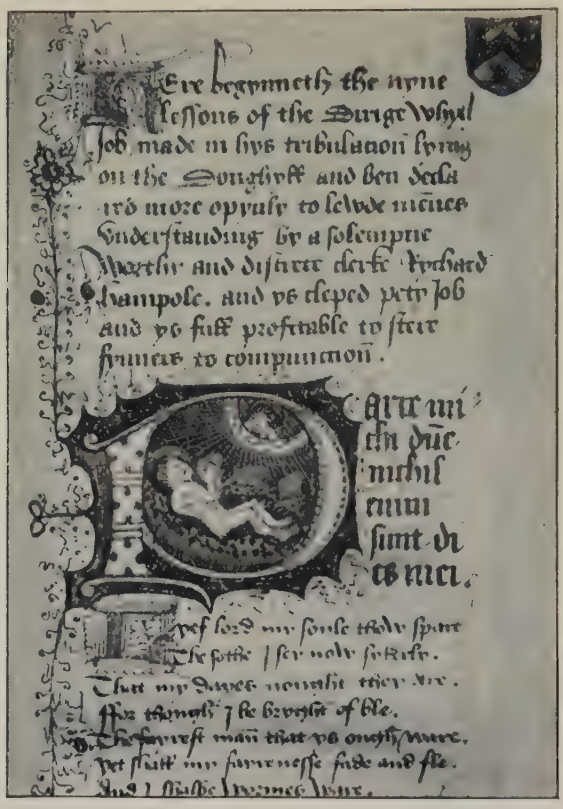
ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER ON THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM (MS. Calig. A. xi.).

are the sermons and religious tracts, many of them in verse, written in numbers in the latter half of this century. No work could be more typical of this genre than that of William of Shoreham, a Kentish man, who had been made vicar of Chart-Sutton by Leeds in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. He wrote theological treatises in the verse of the Poema Morale, or even tail-rime, upon the Sacraments, the Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, and other subjects, with depth of feeling and some insight, but little poetical power. From the same county, but somewhat later (1340), comes a popular treatise on morals, called "Ayenbyte of Inwyt."[1] The author, Dan Michel, an Austin friar in Canterbury, but born at Northgate, based his work on "Le Somme des Vices et des Vertues" (1279), by Lorrens, a work

Sermons and Tracts.

[1] In modern spelling, "the Again-bite of Inwit," a syllable for syllable translation of the Latin words for "remorse of conscience." The sections dealing with the seven deadly sins and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are the basis of the second part of the Parson's Tale. This portion is not by Chaucer.

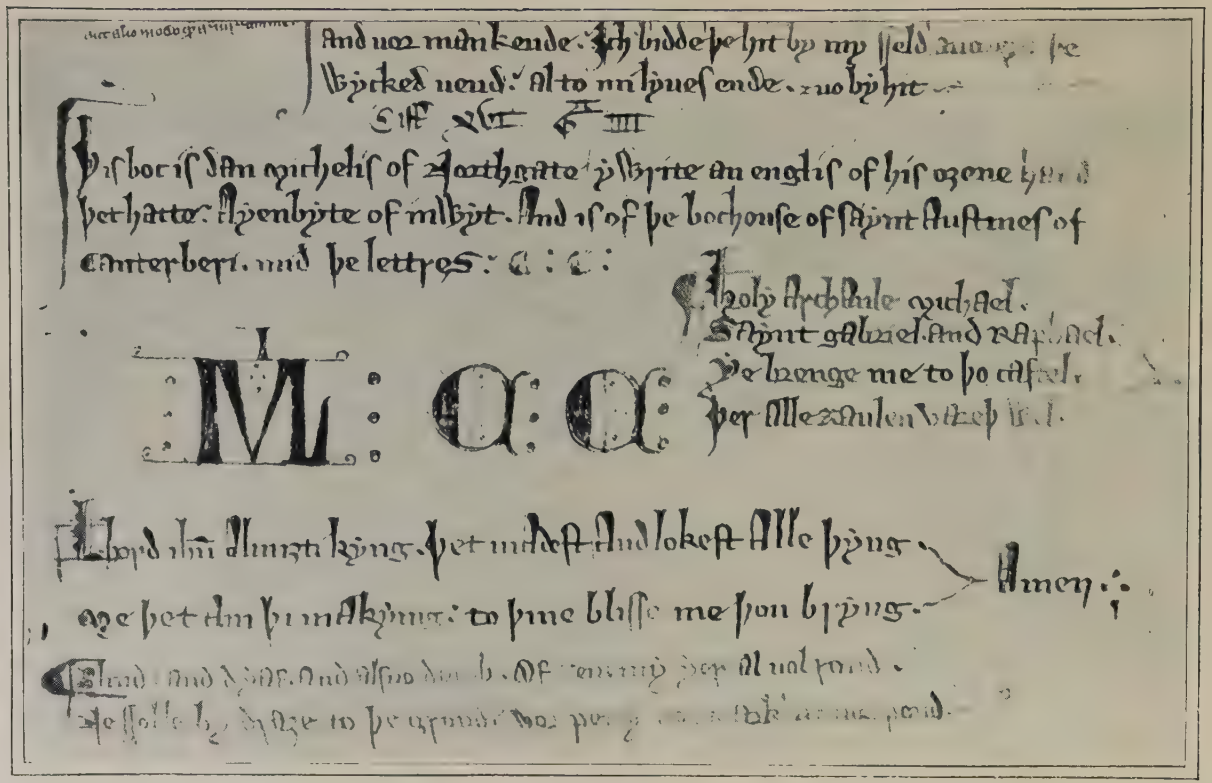
subsequently much imitated both in prose and verse. In the north the chief representatives of this kind of writing are a translation of the Psalms in rimed couplets, the favourite northern measure, written in the second half of the thirteenth century, the "Cursor Mundi" and Richard Rolle of Hampole's "Pricke


Here begynneth the nyne
lessons of the Dirige whyl
Job made in hys tribulacion lyeng
on the Dongehyll and ben declarid
ro more opynly to lewde mennes
vnderstanding by a solempne
Clerke and discrete clerke Richard
Hampole. and ys cleped parte Job
and ys full profitable to stere
soules to compunccion.

A LESSON FROM JOB, BY RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE (MS. Douce 322).
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

of Conscience." The "Cursor Mundi" is a biblical history of the world in short rimed couplets[1] down to the finding of the cross by St. Helena, followed by an account of the Last Judgment. This idea of bringing together the chief points of

[1] The part dealing with the Passion, however, is in septenars, which possibly points to a southern source for this portion.



AUTOGRAPH MS. OF THE AYENBYTE OF INWYT (MS. Arundel 57)

Bible and Church history under one presentation was the same which underlay the arrangement of the mystery-cycles, that began soon afterwards to come into existence. The extreme zeal which made a hermit of Richard Rolle, who had studied theology at Oxford, is reflected in his "Pricke of Conscience," a work intended to present in liveliest colours the falseness and wickedness of the world, the hideousness of sin, the beauty of virtue. As in title so in treatment and subject it has much in common with the "Ayenbyte of Inwyt," and was written about the same time. Richard wrote many other books, and still more was ascribed to him.

What Richard Rolle was doing for the morals of the north and Dan Michel for those of Kent, that Robert Mannyng of Brunne or Bourne (1260–*c.* 1342) had already done for the Midlands in his "Handlyng Synne" (written 1303), a book based on an Anglo-Norman original, the "Manuel des Pechiez" of William de Wadington, a Yorkshireman. Like the northern poem, it is in short rimed couplets. In 1338 Robert finished a "History of England," chiefly based on Wace and the chronicle of Peter Langtoft. The first part based on Wace is, like the original, in short rimed couplets, the second part in Alexandrines, also in imitation of the corresponding part of the "Brut d'Engleterre," the conclusion in twelve-lined stanzas of tail-rime.

The Religious Drama.

The kind of religious literature, however, which made the widest appeal at this time was undoubtedly that in dramatic form. The origin of the drama and the relation of miracle plays to mysteries, and of both to the lay drama, will be dealt with in a later chapter; here a few words must suffice. The "mystery" was, strictly speaking, a play based upon the Bible Story, the "miracle" dramatised the life of some popular saint; but in England both types were indifferently called miracle plays. And this was probably so because the earliest religious dramas acted in England, such as the "Norman Geoffrey of St. Albans" play of "St. Katherine" (beginning of twelfth century), and those referred to by William Fitzstephen in his "Life of St. Thomas à Becket" (*c.* 1182), were either "representations of miracles worked by holy Confessors or of sufferings wherein was demonstrated the endurance of martyrs." It was only later that the English religious sense was reconciled to a dramatic treatment of Scripture itself, but the

"mystery" became so popular finally that there are no plays extant with subjects so completely out of relation to the Biblical narrative that they can be called "miracles" in the

AN EASTER SEPULCHRE, ILLUSTRATING THE ORIGIN OF THE RELIGIOUS DRAMA.
(*Heckington Church, Lincolnshire.*)

strictest sense. The first dramatic piece in the mother-tongue was a mystery called the "Harrowing of Hell," produced in the north-east Midlands about the middle of the thirteenth century. The action has much in common with the Romance

"disputacions," and in less degree with the Old English Dialogues, *e.g.* that between "Solomon and Saturn," for it consists of a word-duel between the risen Christ and Satan at the gate of Hell. The whole, which is in short rimed couplets, shows clearly enough its intimate connection with the church ceremonial at Easter, from which this form of art had sprung five hundred years before. In the same way other mysteries grew up around the Christmas festival. These plays soon became so popular that at the beginning of the fourteenth century we find them collected into cycles beginning with the Creation and concluding with the end of the world, after dealing in turn with the events of the Old Testament and the life of Christ. The several plays of each cycle had become traditionally connected with one or other of the guilds. These combined at the popular festivals of Whitsun, or more usually Corpus Christi (introduced in 1264), and in this way the labour and expense of production were divided. The chief existing cycles are those of Coventry, a complex of heterogeneous plays;[1] of Chester, in existence after 1328; of York (*c.* 1330), of which only five plays and a few fragments of others survive. There is a later York cycle, and a still later collection, that of Widkirk near Wakefield, both of which have these five plays and fragments in common. The metre of all except the earliest plays, which are in short rimed couplets, is a medley of this measure and of various more or less regular stanza forms. Tail-rime is common, especially in the Chester cycle, and frequent in the York cycle is a dignified strophe, consisting of a quatrain of long alliterative lines with cross-rime added, followed by a quatrain of four-accent lines with frequent alliterations (usually three) and rime order *a b b a*. This, like the work of Laurence Minot, shows West Midland influence at work.

To modern readers the Chester plays, as left us by their editor, will doubtless seem in better taste, and their spirit a more fitting one, than those of York. The Towneley plays will bear the test of comparison even less successfully, for their authors were free from the restraining supervision of town-councillors and others. But it was easy for the medieval mind to allow, and even find pleasure in, the

[1] Certainly not those traditionally ascribed to the Franciscans of Coventry.

crudest contrasts. There is a constant juxtaposition of the strongest realism, the coarsest humour, and an even mystical idealism, in the art of the Middle Ages, but if we except the best work of Chaucer, their perfect fusion is never reached, at any rate in England. The good people of Wakefield, who witnessed the Shepherds' play, felt no shock in passing from a scene of the broadest and, as it would have appeared to our modern sentiment of reverence, the most profane buffoonery, to the song of the angels proclaiming the birth of the Saviour. The almost Titanic brutality and blasphemy of Cain, or the undignified spectacle of Noah knocked down by his irascible wife, was not felt to be less consistent with the tender pathos of such a character as the young Isaac in the Broome play; or with the general fitness of things in a body of drama, intended to display the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith, than were the grinning devils on the parapets of Notre Dame with the rapt saints ranged below them, or with the imbuing spirit of the House of God. The very refinement of the Chester Whitsun plays, their less vivid characterisation and larger moralising element, proves them to be a less perfect mirror of the people's everyday life and conceptions.

W. J. CORBETT. Agriculture.

THE first thing to do in order to understand the system of farming in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is to get a clear idea of the composition of the typical great estate. This was very different from what we see now, for it consisted of a number of separate manors, not lying close together, but scattered up and down all over England, in such a way that hardly any one adjoined another. For example, in the so-called Domesday of St. Paul's, or collection of early "extents" relating to 1222, we read of eleven manors in Essex the property of the canons of the cathedral, no two of which lay closer together than four miles, while the average distance between them is over fifteen. Or, to take another example from one of the earliest Court Rolls that has yet been found: of eleven manors which in 1246 belonged to the Norman abbey of Bec, ten were in different counties, stretching from Dorsetshire to Northamptonshire and Norfolk. Nor were these

estates by any means the most widely scattered, as some, like those of Merton College, Oxford, stretched from Northumberland to Kent. The result of this was that no one man could ever attempt to supervise a single estate, and that each manor had to be handed over to a separate agent or bailiff, from which the whole system has come to be called bailiff-farming.

Estate Management.

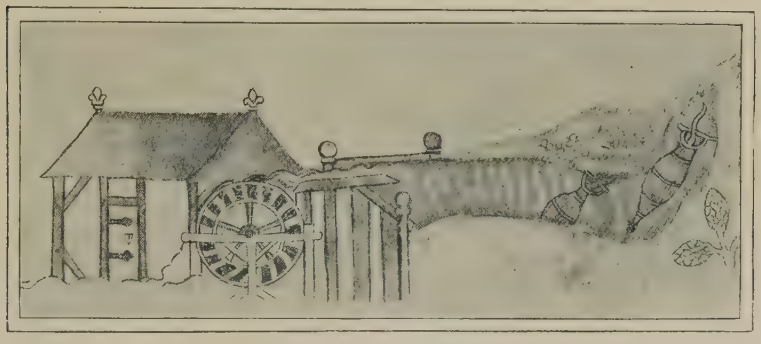
In appointing this bailiff, who held the leading place in the village, and who often lived in the manor-house, the greatest care was needed; for he was necessarily for the greater part of the year his own master, and everything depended on his skill and energy. Generally speaking, his duties were those of an overseer; but in this he had assistance, his peculiar province being to keep the accounts, and to see that nothing was bought or sold unnecessarily. In extraordinary matters or cases of great danger he might apply to the lord's head agent or steward for instructions; but this was not always possible, and as a rule a bailiff who could not depend on himself was not thought a profitable servant. The steward's duties, in fact, though they included general superintendence, were rather legal than economic, and most of his time was taken up in journeying from one manor to another in order to hold the more important courts on behalf of his lord. How short his visits to any one manor usually were may be seen from the itinerary of the steward of the abbey of Bec, as set forth in his Court Rolls, who in 1247 between September 17th and October 9th visited six manors in the six counties of Wiltshire, Berkshire, Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Surrey. Incidentally this also suggests that travelling was not at all difficult at this time, and that the roads as a rule must have been safe, for the stewards took large sums of money with them—an idea which is confirmed by the record we have of an equally rapid tour made in January, 1181, by the dean and two canons of St. Paul's to inspect their estates in Hertfordshire, Essex, and Surrey, when the party, though it was winter, covered over two hundred and thirty miles across country in twenty-two days, and held inquisitions in nineteen manors.

The Manor.

The typical manor which the bailiff had to look after consisted of a single village, in which all the land legally

AGRICULTURE, FROM THE LUTTRELL PSALTER. [*To face p.* 132.

belonged to the lord, and all the inhabitants had to submit to his seigniorial jurisdiction. Not all the land, however, which was used for tillage was kept by the lord in his own hands, but only a portion—usually about a third—which was called his demesne. The rest of the arable was divided amongst the villagers, with whom also the lord shared whatever hay was grown upon the meadows and the grass and acorns to be found upon the wastes and in the woodlands. In return for this the villagers did not pay the lord any money-rent, but only rendered him various services. In the case of a freeman



A WATERMILL
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

these were not very arduous, and no doubt there was always a tendency to commute them into quit-rent; but in most manors there were very few freemen, and nearly all the villagers or tenants were of the unfree or villein class, whose services were much more burdensome. Chief among these services was the duty of cultivating the lord's demesne. In fact, in the typical manor theirs was the only labour that was available for this purpose, and to see that they did it properly was the chief duty of the bailiff. Success in this, however, was by no means easy; for only a customary amount of labour could be demanded, and even this differed at different seasons of the year and among the different classes of villeins. If for any reason the number of villeins on the manor became too few, there was no way out of the dilemma, and the land had to be allowed to go out of cultivation. As a rule the services which could be demanded were of two kinds,

distinguished into "week-work" and "boon-work."[1] Of these, week-work was regular, and consisted of ploughing or reaping on the demesne or doing some other agricultural service for the lord for two or three days a week throughout the year, with most likely something extra during the harvest; while boon-work, though fixed in amount, was irregular, and consisted in performing some such service as carting, whenever the lord might require it. Many villeins had further to render a small tribute in kind—such as some eggs and two or three capons on the three great feast-days, or a quarter of seed-wheat once a year; but in return they often had meals of herrings and bread and beer provided for them when employed upon the demesne. All this, to a modern farmer, would seem a clumsy way of getting labour, and so no doubt it was; nor could it have worked at all if the bailiff had not been assisted in the work of superintendence by subordinates who were villeins themselves, and who were chosen by their fellows as representatives to be responsible for them if they failed in doing their services. The most important of these were the reeve or provost and the hayward,[2] both of whom must often have found the office of making the others work anything but remunerative; for the court rolls in some cases tell us of villeins who paid as much as twenty shillings to be excused from being reeve after having been elected. In the last resort, too, the villeins as a whole were responsible for each other, so that the lord could fine the whole township if he failed to get satisfaction from his officers.

The typical holding of a villein was the "virgate," of about thirty acres; but some held more, and many much less, while there was a large class of cottars, or cottagers, who had little beyond a garden. None of these holdings, however, of whatever size, were cultivated separately, but, great and small alike, were worked together as one farm in conjunction with the lord's demesne. Nor was this merely a matter of custom, but rather the unavoidable result of the very peculiar composition of these villein-holdings; for just as the typical estate at this date consisted of scattered manors, so the typical holding

[1] The Latin terms were "dies operabiles" and "dies precariae," working days and casual days.

[2] Called respectively "praepositus" and "messor."

COMMON FIELD, SHOWING DIVISION BY BALKS.
(*From a photograph by Miss E. M. Leonard.*)

consisted, not of a compact block of land, but of a number of acre and half-acre strips scattered up and down the cultivated part of the village, in perhaps as many as sixty different places, and only divided from the equally scattered portions of other holdings by narrow "balks," or strips of unploughed turf. In some cases the lord's demesne may have been kept separate, but this was certainly unusual, and in any case it was cultivated on the same plan and as one with the villeins' holdings.

Tillage.

The methods of tillage in use, according to Walter of Henley, were either the three-field or two-field system, as they have been called, according as the rotation of crops was effected either in three or in two years. The former seems to have been by far the commoner. To carry it out, the whole of the arable land in a village was divided into three great fields, and every year one of these produced wheat, another barley or oats, while the third lay fallow. Put in another way, the three years' course in any particular field would be as follows:—In January of the first year sow with barley; in August reap the barley; from September in the first year to June in the second leave the land fallow; in June plough up the fallow ready for wheat; in the autumn sow with wheat; in August of the third year reap the wheat; in the autumn plough up the land ready for the barley; in January of the fourth year sow again with barley. In most instances this rotation was regularly followed, but occasionally rye might be substituted for wheat. There were also two sorts of barley, the second being called "drageum," while three leguminous plants—viz. beans, peas, and vetches—were generally, but not extensively, cultivated. Crops of hemp and linseed are not unknown in the manorial records.

In preparing for the crop the land was usually ploughed twice; but as the great wooden ploughs were very cumbrous, the soil was not very effectually turned. Oxen, too, in teams of four or eight, were used to pull them, in preference to horses—possibly because, iron being dear, the latter were very expensive to keep shod. Very little manuring was, as a rule, attempted, beyond marling in some localities, and the occasional folding of sheep on the fallows, while the art of drainage was equally backward. After sowing there was no harrowing or

rolling, but the corn was sometimes hoed. In reaping, the crop was cut high on the stalk, and this gave a double advantage; for it prevented the wet straw and weeds from being carried, and at the same time left as much stubble as possible behind, either to be cut later for thatching and litter, or to be ploughed in instead of manure. The harvest as a whole usually took about six weeks, and directly it was over the whole stock of the village was turned promiscuously on

Apres qe Gaalon e Chelyon e Elymalech lour pere eſtoyent treſpaſſez Jomy fem
me Elimalech e Ruth femme son fiz retournerent en bethleem

GLEANERS AND REAPERS (MS Roy. 2 B. vii.).

to the stubbles. The amount of wheat harvested varied from sixteen bushels an acre on the best lands to four bushels, two bushels being the amount originally sown; but this was only in favourable years. Even so the average is less than a third of what would now be expected; nor did the other kinds of grain do any better. The next operations were the winter ones of threshing and winnowing—the latter being done chiefly by women—after which the grain was not as a rule sold, but carefully stored in the barns or granges, and sometimes in the churches; for even in good years there was not much more produced than would suffice to support the

village till the next harvest, and there could never be any certainty that in the next year there would not be a scarcity. When wheat was sold, it fetched about 6s. a quarter, and barley about 4s. 3d.

Live Stock.

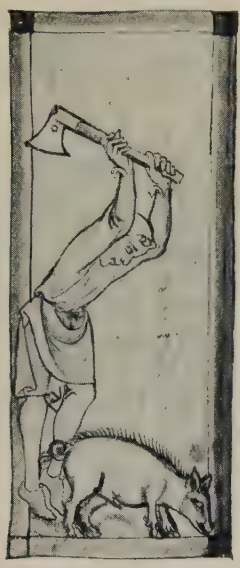
The live stock kept consisted chiefly of cattle and sheep, but there were also a few horses, and nearly every villein family had its pig, and lived largely on salt pork. In the summer all these were sent out, under common cowherds, shepherds, and swineherds, to feed in the woods and wastes,

THRESHING.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

and ordinarily there was plenty of food: but in winter the majority of the cattle and sheep had to be killed, as there was little hay and no roots to feed them on. The draught-oxen, of course, were preserved, and just enough of all kinds to breed with; but even these were nearly starved, while in the spring, as there were no hedges, the calves and lambs could get no protection from the weather. In these circumstances it is not surprising that there were not many attempts to improve the breeds, and that the losses were enormous, on the average as much as 20 per cent. a year. Sheep-keeping, however, in spite of all this, was probably the most profitable part of farming; for at this time England had a monopoly of the wool trade, and there was a constantly increasing demand for fleeces, which were exported to supply the looms of

Flanders. As the sheep were small, the fleeces were very light, and often under 2 oz.; but what made wool-growing profitable was really the comparatively small amount of labour it required—an advantage which became doubly plain after the Black Death, and led eventually to a partial abandonment of the industry of corn-growing. As to the dairy and poultry departments of farming, it will be sufficient to say that every

FEEDING PIGS.



KILLING A PIG.
(MS. Add. 16,975.)

SOWING.

village engaged in them; but that, as the practice of making cheese and butter, and of keeping chickens, ducks, and geese, was universal, these products were always very cheap, and hardly ever sold.

Rise of Free Labour.

Hitherto we have been describing the typical manor as it appeared to Walter of Henley at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and as in many cases it existed until long after the Black Death. But, as has already been noted (I., p. 640), even in the early years of Henry III. a great change was impending in many manors, and one that became more prominent as the thirteenth century advanced. This was the gradual disappearance of the villein as we have described him,

with his obligation of rendering services on the land and of helping to cultivate his lord's demesne, and in his stead the substitution of a free class who worked for wages. One might perhaps have expected that so great a social revolution could be traced to some popular movement in favour of emancipation, and that, as the tone of society became gentler, the lords naturally had a tendency to free their serfs; but of this there is not much evidence. On the contrary, in the eyes of the law the villeins remained serfs, certainly till their great revolt in 1381, and perhaps later; for neither then nor afterwards was there any clear admission of their freedom. Long before

THE GOOSE-HERD.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

this, however, the great mass of them must have been free in the eyes of the bailiffs; for they had ceased to be tied to the soil, and the revolt itself, as will be shown later, was only caused by an attempt to re-exact their services, which had become obsolete. The agency that effected this was neither sentiment nor even piety, but the self-interest of the average manorial lord; for, as has already been shown, it can never have been very easy to get the demesne properly cultivated, even when the duty was entrusted to the most energetic of bailiffs. Compulsory labour is proverbially ineffective, even when the labourer can be made to do whatever he is told; while on the manor the villeins could always be setting up the customs, and claiming that they had done all that could be required of them. The very variety of

the customs, too, made evasion easy, and by necessitating an inordinate amount of superintendence helped to lessen what small margin of profit there might otherwise have been. At the same time, the expenses of the lords were growing; for the age was one of progress, and civilisation brought greater luxury in its train. The chivalry, too, of the time with its pomp and splendour, the prevalent taste for building, and a somewhat ostentatious charity, all demanded ready money, and this was just what the lords failed to get so long as their rents were only paid in labour. As a consequence, it became customary to commute the services of the more sub-

WOMEN WEEDING THE CORN.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

stantial villeins for a money payment. At first this was only done provisionally, and the lord was left at liberty to exact either the money or the services, whichever might be the more convenient, while in any case he could fall back on the latter if the villeins failed to produce the money. Even if he took the money, he was not independent of the villeins, for he still had to find the labour necessary to cultivate his demesne, and this he did by engaging the same villeins as hired labourers. But in this he gained largely, for he now got not only permanent servants who worked better, but servants who could be employed exactly when and as they were required. The villeins, too, gained equally; for they now felt that their work was voluntary, and that it was remunerative.

The mutual advantages of the new system were indeed so obvious, that its provisional character was certain to disappear as soon as the lords grew confident that the commutation money would be regularly paid. In earlier centuries, when disturbances were common, this could hardly have been attained. This period, however, as already noted (I., p. 641), was a time of peace, and notable in agriculture for the growth of material prosperity; and so it was not long before money-rents were permanently adopted by some lords, and gradually extended to all their tenants and every sort of service. The amount of rent paid varied, of course, with the size of the villein's holding, as had the older services, and to some extent according to the kind of services he had performed; but it was not often that it exceeded ten shillings a year, even for the holder of a virgate, while it was frequently much less. When once the commutation had taken place, and the lord had provided himself with enough labourers to work his demesne, he naturally did not much care whether the remainder stayed upon the manor or not. On the contrary, for a small extra fine he would usually be willing to let them seek employment elsewhere, if they considered it better than cultivating their holdings; and so in course of time it came about that a great number of villeins took to migratory trades, and became detached from the land and as good as free. Another large body, by accumulating in their own hands the holdings thus vacated, gradually grew into a class of yeomen, well enough off to rival and often to take precedence of the genuine freeholders, and under no necessity of labouring for hire.

Earnings. The villeins who continued to work on the lord's demesne may be divided into two classes, according as they were employed regularly throughout the year, or only occasionally as extra hands. The regular servants kept on most manors included the ploughmen, the carters and drivers, the herdsmen, and the daye or dairymaid, all of whom worked for about 310 days in the year. For this the better sort were paid about 6s. annually, but this was the least part of their remuneration; for, in addition, each received a regular allowance of grain, varying from a quarter every nine weeks to one every fourteen, according to their employments. Occasional labourers, on the

[1348]

contrary, were paid entirely in money, and usually by the piece—6d. an acre for ploughing, 1d. for hoeing, 2½d. for mowing, and so forth, being ordinary rates. Women, too, were frequently employed, and could earn about 1d. a day. In this way it has been calculated that cultivation cost the lord about £1 an acre, a rate which not only left the labourers well off, but also paid fairly well. The whole system, however, depended on there being plenty of labourers who would accept the ordinary wages, and this ceased to be the case in 1348; for in that year nearly half the labourers in England died, and as the survivors refused to take the old wages the landlords were almost universally ruined, and a new system of farming had to be adopted, known as the stock and land lease. This and the Great Plague, which led to its introduction, will form topics for another chapter.

HUBERT HALL. Trade and Industry.

THE long and peaceful reign of Henry III. was not, as we have seen, in any large sense an age of industrial progress or commercial enterprise. The nation was, indeed, passing through a stage of transition, which was in itself unfavourable to commercial development; and, moreover, the whole system of trade regulation was excessively provincial and archaic. Hitherto its regulation had been, to a great extent, in the hands of local magnates, who vied with the Crown in imposing vexatious restrictions and intolerable burdens on the whole race of merchants; but with the accession of Edward I. a new force comes to the relief of oppressed industry, in the form of commercial legislation enacted "with the council and consent" of the Commons of England. As yet, moreover, apart from royal exactions and local customs, the imperial measures adopted for the regulation of trade had been of the most meagre character—an assize of bread and ale and cloth, which was, to trade, what the historical assizes of the twelfth century were to the land and police systems of the country. Henceforth trade was no longer to be regulated in the sole interests of the great landlords, but in those of the subjects at large; and the latter, having at last found their voices, used them to some effect in Parliament during the succeeding century. The beneficial effects of this centralisation of trade

policy may easily be imagined, and the result is seen in the proceedings of Parliament which have been preserved to us.

This new departure is not, perhaps, altogether surprising, for we have already seen in the case of the towns that the common interests of the mercantile community had inspired a very elaborate and fairly representative system of self-government. The new methods were adopted, and further expedients were devised by the Commons. The pursuit of wealth had become a national and laudable industry, and the conditions under which it could be safely and profitably carried on were henceforth the especial care of the Legislature; and so far from trade being fettered by these enactments, it was really released from many vexatious restrictions in the shape of local usages. This happy result was largely due to the active and enlightened foreign policy of Edward I. and his immediate successors. It is true that this policy was originally a warlike one, and that the king's diplomatic relations with Flanders were neither very patriotic nor very successful at their inception; and we have to deal with the further fact that the commercial policy of each of these kings in turn produced a constitutional crisis of the greatest gravity. In the reign of Edward I., himself a notable founder of new towns, the free cities of Europe reached the zenith of their political power and commercial prosperity, and the intermunicipal system of trade flourished in proportion. Thanks to the personal despotism of Henry III., the Crown had already assumed a nominal control over the foreign intercourse of the country. The carrying trade was, to a great extent, in the hands of the merchants of the Hanse, and the internal trade in those of the Jews and Flemings. All three bodies were strictly controlled and licensed by the Crown, and to these were now added the great commercial houses of Lombardy, such as the Friscobaldi.

Policy of Edward I.

The position assumed by Edward I. and his successors in regard to the interests of English commerce is a somewhat remarkable one. In their view the interests of the Crown were identical with those of the nation itself. The Jews were expelled, and the Lombards were patronised in their place. France was to be hemmed in between a dependent English

ally in the north, and a flourishing English province to the south; and the whole fiscal arrangement was to be revised in order to harmonise with these conditions. Again, the king looked on the produce of the land, together with the wealth of the Church and of the towns, as available to relieve his necessities, either by means of direct taxation or by assignment to the alien financiers. Edward I. insisted that he was "free to buy and sell like any other," when the Commons remonstrated at his illegal seizures of staple wares by way of purveyance or pre-emption (I., p. 663); and from this time

CUSTOMS SEAL, PROBABLY OF EDWARD II.

onwards, the plan of farming out the revenue collected at the outports to societies of foreign merchants was frequently resorted to. In fact, the importance of the foreign intercourse of the kingdom had become so great, that it could not safely be allowed to remain under the guidance of the guild-brethren of the free cities, especially when the feudal revenues of the Crown no longer permitted the king "to live of his own," and the control of trade offered an easy means of supplying the deficiency.

Edward II. reaped the fatal consequences of this arbitrary action, and the struggle was renewed and concluded during the first twenty years of the next reign. Henceforth the regulation of foreign intercourse, so far as it might be regarded as a question of diplomacy, was left to the discretion of the king and his council; but the material side of the subject, the protection of native exports, the taxation of foreign imports,

and everything connected with what was afterwards known as the "balance of trade," was esteemed a proper subject of consideration for the Commons of England.

It may fairly be suggested that the Edwardian statecraft was intended to secure certain commercial advantages of which English merchants seem to stand in need. The most important of these were, in the first place, a secure and profitable market for English exports; and next, an abundant and unrestricted supply of needful imports. In fact, to sell in the dearest market and buy in the cheapest was beginning to be recognised as an elementary principle of economics; only that the means taken to effect this desirable end were not of a very enlightened character. Aliens were encouraged to import freely, in order that their lucrative monopoly might be broken, while the conditions imposed were always such as to favour the native retailer. On the other hand, the prerogative and diplomacy of the Crown were actively employed for the regulation of the exchange, for the safeguard of the seas, and for the establishment of a Continental market for English staple-wares. The most striking feature in the commercial policy of Edward I. and Edward III. is the supersession of the old intermunicipal arrangements by an imperial policy, enunciated by treaties or by statutes of Parliament. The great cities of England and the Continent still continued a useful correspondence to facilitate the collection or recovery of private debts, but they were not in a position to protect the national interests which they severally represented. Trade had begun to follow the flag. The English Admiralty had been established, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the sea led to constant collisions betwixt the mariners on both sides of the Channel. Moreover, the old feudal relations with France had been rudely broken, and English merchants stood in special need of the passports or safe-conducts which were plentifully issued from the Chancery during these reigns.

Economic Legislation.

In an earlier period, the regulation of trade by the Crown had taken the form of occasional licences, which implied the advantage of the king's protection to all such as had paid a fine to obtain his "good-will." This patriarchal system doubtless worked well in a state of society in which the peace of an absolute monarch was the only bond of law and order, just

as it is necessary to the present day in certain uncivilised countries; but the victory of the Crown over the forces of feudal anarchy, and the recent vindication of the ancient constitution in the statute of Winchester, and the reorganisation of the machinery of justice, made some further arrangement between the Crown and the merchants imperative. Although Magna Charta had expressly asserted the common-law right of merchants at large to freedom of traffic, provided that the usual regulations were complied with, it was still found convenient to obtain the good-will of the Crown by means of fines for charters of liberties or safe-conducts, and this practice continued in force till long afterwards. The chief consideration, however, was in respect of the imperial and local taxation, for which merchants were admittedly liable. The former species of exaction had usually taken the form of a tithe of all merchandise, a tenth or a fifteenth collected at the king's ports; but, in addition to this, there were seigniorial franchises to be reckoned with, and tolls or dues levied at fairs, markets, or at the city gates and quays.

The Customs Revenue

The great achievement of the Edwardian commercial legislation was the consolidation of these arbitrary, uncertain, and scattered dues in the customs revenue of the Crown. In the first place, the private branches were, as far as possible, acquired by the Crown, or strictly curtailed by the great inquest preserved in the surviving Hundred Rolls. The first Parliament at Westminster was induced to make a "great contract" with the Crown, by which the latter abandoned indefinite prises[1] upon native exports of an earlier period, in exchange for a fixed scale of custom duties on wool, woolfells, and leather, which was henceforth known as the Great, or Ancient Custom; while the old scale of tolls upon wines imported by natives was likewise ratified as the Prisage. Before the end of the reign a similar contract was made with the alien merchants, whereby they obtained equal advantages with natives by paying an increased duty of 50 per cent. on wools and leather, together with a fixed tariff for cloths and wax, a tunnage of two shillings on the cask of wine, and a poundage on all other exports or imports. The New, or Petty Custom, as this tariff was called, was at first viewed

[1] Levyings of dues, "takings."]

with considerable jealousy by native merchants, but its success, both as a fiscal and commercial measure was undoubted.

The Customs revenue created by the Statute of Westminster and Charta Mercatoria was successfully administered by a highly organised staff of Custom-house officers. The out-ports of England became now, for the first time, in actuality, "the king's gates." A vigilant coastguard was maintained, the local authorities were overlooked; and, as a result, the condition of the harbours, quays, and streets was vastly improved. In the same way the Statute of Winchester cleared the roads leading to the great cities of the banditti which formerly infested them; the Statutes of London secured the good order of the city wards by day and night; and the persistent complaints of the obstructions and encroachments practised by riparian owners in the great waterways were about to be the subject of practical legislation. By the Statute of Merchants, trade debts were to some extent secured, and a system of registration was permitted—the first step in the direction of a change in the whole composition of feudal society, by admitting the merchant to a place among the landed gentry.

Foreign Trade under Edward III.

The policy of the first Edward was pursued with still greater energy by the third of that name in other directions. It is probable that his intentions were viewed with some distrust by a considerable body of his subjects; but although his policy is in some respects that of a doctrinaire, there can be no question as to the sincerity of his aims or the lasting improvements which he effected. Like his grandfather, Edward III. was bent on the extension of foreign trade, and the many facilities offered for this purpose are the chief feature of his commercial policy. Charters were granted or confirmed to merchants of Gascony, who imported wine, and to other branches of trade. Aliens were expressly protected by the Statute of the Staple, whilst a statutory fare for the passage between Dover and Calais was even fixed in their behalf. In spite of this encouragement by the Crown, we find that the foreign merchants laboured under the same local disabilities as of old, and in particular their sojourn for more than the customary forty days was keenly resented by the

English Commons. We find also that the influx of foreign commodities, coupled with the success of the French war, had a tendency to demoralise English middle-class society, and before the end of the reign rigorous sumptuary laws had become necessary, with the ulterior object probably of protecting native industries. Another experiment of this king was more favourably received—namely, the settlement of Flemish weavers in England under the special protection and patronage of the Crown; but the most important of all his commercial projects was the scheme, long in preparation and finally elaborated in 1353, by which a Staple for English exports was brought under the direct control of the Crown.

TREADING GRAPES (MS. Add. 16,975).

Since the settlement of the Customs Revenue in the reign of Edward I. the importance of the export trade which now flowed through one main channel was very evident to an intelligent sovereign as a means of revenue. The assessment of 1275 was not, however, sufficient to meet the necessities of the Crown in time of war, and as the king's claims to scutage (I., p. 374), aid, and other feudal taxation, were still in hopeless abeyance, the temptation presented by the manipulation of the "sovereign treasure of the kingdom," in the shape of woolsacks and bales of fells and hides, proved too great, even for a well-meaning king. Towards the end of the reign of Edward I. an imposition, known as the Maletolte,[1] of forty shillings had been levied on the sack of wool, and a constitutional crisis was provoked which ended in the confirmation of the charters in 1297, whereby it was clearly understood that in case of necessity the Crown must apply to Parliament

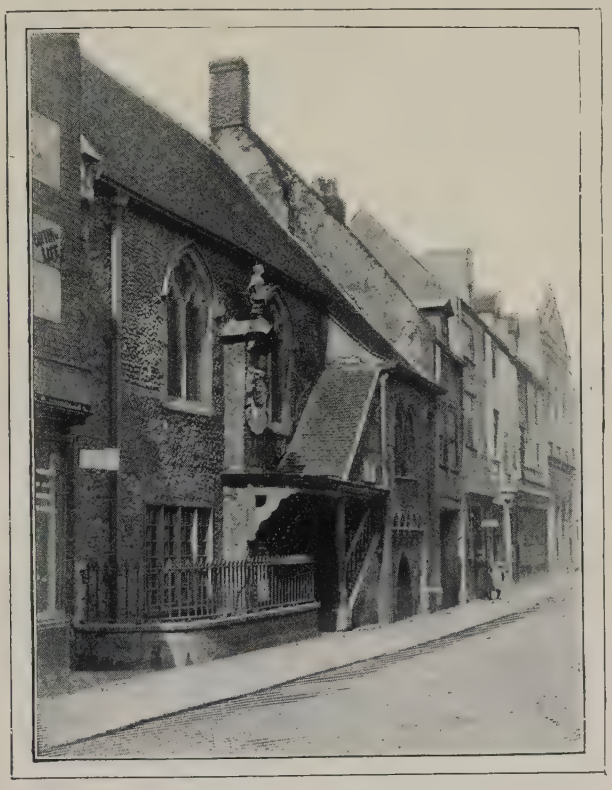
[1] So called as "illegally levied"—in medieval Latin, *male tolta* (*tollita*).]

for an extraordinary grant. Forty years later this necessity arose during the progress of the great war with France, and henceforth a Parliamentary grant of the subsidy of wools became the mainstay of the annual Budget. This unfailing source of revenue, whether as custom or subsidy, was the security for the financial dealings of the Edwards with Flemish or Lombard capitalists, and it was with a view to its utmost development that the Staple received the close attention of the Crown.

There can be little doubt that if the merchants of the Staple were not a recognised society as early as the thirteenth century, they formed a compact body of traders with distinct objects and interests at that period. At first, however, they exported wool and other staple wares to the great fairs of the Flemish cities without discrimination. For the protection of native interests it was thought desirable in the reign of Edward II. that a fixed Staple should be assigned for the sale of English exports. The monopoly which thus accrued to a single town, like Bruges, was soon found to be unbearable, and in 1353 the Staple was transferred to England, in the expectation, probably, that free competition amongst the foreign merchants who visited the English marts would tend to enhance the price of wool, and so diminish the burden of the indirect taxation in the shape of custom and subsidy, which fell upon the producer. At the same time the prosperity of the English towns, at which the Staple was appointed to be held, would be increased, and the greater volume of foreign imports would tend to lower prices and leave a balance in favour of this country.

By the famous Ordinance of the Staple ten English towns (p. 340) were assigned for the exclusive sale of wool. These were situated within easy reach of the coast, from Newcastle in the north to Bristol in the west, with separate Staples for Wales and Ireland. Each of these towns was linked with a convenient port, and in each a separate Court merchant was established, with a mayor and officers and assessors. Here the wool was weighed and certified, and all disputes were settled, after which it was conveyed to the proper port, and after being tested by the king's officers, the Custom and Subsidy was exacted. No subject might export wool on

pain of life or limb, while every inducement was offered to aliens to frequent the English marts. The immediate effect of this important measure was a great stimulus to the Staple trade, aliens exporting a greater bulk of wool than had ever before been recorded. The official restrictions imposed by the statute were, however, highly inconvenient, and the old



THE TOL-HOUSE, GREAT YARMOUTH.

jealousy of foreign traders, together with a great increase of smuggling, led to a compromise by which for the next ten years the Staple was mainly fixed at the new English colony of Calais.

In an earlier age the internal regulation of trade was the peculiar care of the local authorities. The assize of bread and ale was everywhere observed, and the election of local inspectors

and the presentment of offenders against the assize are familiar details in manorial and municipal records. This close supervision over the quantity and quality of the wares exposed for sale in the villages and towns by local officers was clearly in the interest of the whole community, and it is characteristic of the new *régime* of imperial legislation that almost precisely similar measures were adopted by the Crown for the welfare of the subjects. Royal officers were appointed for the gauge of wines and the aulnage[1] of cloths, and stringent edicts were enforced against such practices as forestalling or engrossing, and all other devices of middlemen to raise the price against the consumer. An attempt was even made to regulate prices, and the great distress which prevailed in the year 1316 was considerably aggravated by this disastrous expedient. But the chief and most legitimate object of attention to the Crown was the currency itself.

The Currency.

Ever since the royal revenue had become payable in specie instead of in kind, the greatest precautions were observed by the Treasurer and his staff to ensure a high standard of purity in the current coinage. The sterling money of England, famous throughout Europe for its purity, was the silver penny which passed from hand to hand by weight as well as by tale, a large proportion of the coins in circulation being further subjected to the yearly assay or Trial of the Pyx[2] at the audit of the sheriff's accounts in the Exchequer. In addition to these precautions, a very strict watch was kept on the operations of the royal moneyers, and a terrible example was made of such as were detected in malpractices. On occasion, the debased currency was called in, and a new coinage was issued, while very substantial improvements were effected in the reign of Henry III. in the establishment of the Exchange and the Mint, always a royal monopoly, but which now became for the first time an official department. Still greater improvements were effected in the first half of the fourteenth century, and treatises on coinage are extant which evince a considerable degree of scientific knowledge. But the great feature in the history of the currency at this period

[1 Measurement and official inspection: from Old French *aulne*, ell.]

[2 The Pyx is the box at the Mint in which specimen coins are deposited. The trial still takes place periodically.]

consists in the long array of ordinances by the king in council for its better regulation, beginning with an ordinance of 1248, and ending with an amended order in the year 1298, which may be regarded as completing the establishment of the Mint and Exchange.[1] The denominations of pounds, shillings, and marks were, of course, purely figures of account, but under Edward III. (p. 82) a double standard of currency, namely, gold and silver, was partially introduced, the former being represented by the well-known Flemish "Nobles" and Italian "Florins," following the experiment of a gold penny or "Royal" in 1248 (I., p. 612). A new evil had, however, begun to be felt since the middle of the previous century from the circulation of base foreign coins, which tended to drive out the good money. At a very early date such coins as besants (or byzants) had been passed by the foreign merchants in England, but now the country was flooded with base money introduced by foreign merchants. To remedy this evil, statutes were passed prohibiting the use of foreign coins, and alien merchants were required to bring with them a certain proportion of actual bullion in payment for their purchases, while the exportation of English bullion was checked as far as possible. Finally, an entirely new coinage of gold and silver was issued in the year 1351.

Industry.

The progress made by the artisan class during the fourteenth century is one of the chief causes of the national strength and prosperity during the French wars, and there can be little doubt that this progress was largely due to the careful protection of the Crown and the enlightened legislation of Parliament. The planting of new industries in the reign of Edward III. was no rash experiment, but a continuation of an early and successful policy. There was naturally a certain display of jealousy at the patronage of Flemish weavers by the Crown, just as a similar sentiment prevailed in earlier and down to much later times, but there was a tacit agree-

[1] During the whole of this period this establishment was almost entirely recruited from that class of foreign experts whose connection with the coinage of this country is commemorated in the very name of sterling. In addition to their want of skill, the well-to-do London goldsmiths were doubtless unwilling to compete for the meagre pittance offered by the foreign farmers or contractors, and it was more than once found necessary to resort to the expedient of imprisoning native workmen by force, an exercise of authority which was one of the reputed liberties of the Mint.

ment as to the benefits derived from this connection, and the English clothworkers were themselves in a highly favoured position.

FOLDING CLOTH.
(*Archæological Museum, Cambridge.*)

Besides the colonies of Flemish experts in the western and eastern counties, other trades were settled in England, such as the clockmakers, and the elaborate sumptuary laws of the period were probably designed for the encouragement of native manufacturers. In the case of native industries the goldsmiths' trade was entirely reorganised at the end of Edward I.'s reign, and the well-known trademark of the company was, by direction of the Crown, affixed to all silver plate. The remaining trades, however, were still individually regulated by their governing bodies, although all had benefited greatly by the diplomatic and legislative activity of the period.

CUTTING CLOTH.
(*Archæological Museum, Cambridge.*)

The Guilds.

The towns of England in the fourteenth century were passing through a period of transition from a general to a special form of self-government for purposes of trade. By degrees all towns of any importance had already acquired the privileges that were essential to freedom of trade

—exemption from the sheriff's farm (I., p. 520), from local tolls, and from pleading outside the city; while the right to elect their own officers had given them already a political independence that was only forfeited by their misfortune or default. Before the close of the thirteenth century the whole body of traders had become subject to the jurisdiction of the central governing body, which in one aspect consisted of the mayor and alderman, and in another aspect of the guild merchant. The former body, with the Court of Common Council, exercised a sort of general control over the whole working of municipal trade, and its functions were essentially legal and official. The latter was a democratic body parallel to the Common Council, but with the single mission of regulating the external and internal trade pursued by the guild brethren. This was formed out of the two great classes of merchant-traders and artisans, both of whom were on equal footing, membership of the guild conferring equally the freedom of the borough and the legal status of burgess. It is probable, indeed, that the craftsmen, organised as early as the twelfth century, formed in most towns a majority of the guild brethren, and many foreigners and merchants residing at a distance from the town were honorary members (so to speak) of the guild merchant. In the fourteenth century the latter body ceased to possess sufficient vitality to satisfy the rapid expansion of the industrial interest, and the real supervision of trade fell into the hands of the craft guild. Four distinct forces were thus at work with the common object of regulating trade in the interests of the whole community—the Crown, by legislative or executive process; the municipal body, by virtue of the liberties and free customs conceded by the Crown; the guild merchant, representing the customs of the merchants, and still surviving as an aggregate of craft guilds; and lastly, the individual craft guild, by whom the regulation of trade was now conducted on new and scientific principles.

The Craft Guild.

A typical craft guild in the fourteenth century contained three classes of artisans—masters, journeymen, and apprentices; and in spite of certain inequalities and hardships, the interest of all three classes was identical. The internal economy of such a guild had probably not varied much from that of a much earlier period, but the great influx of labour into the

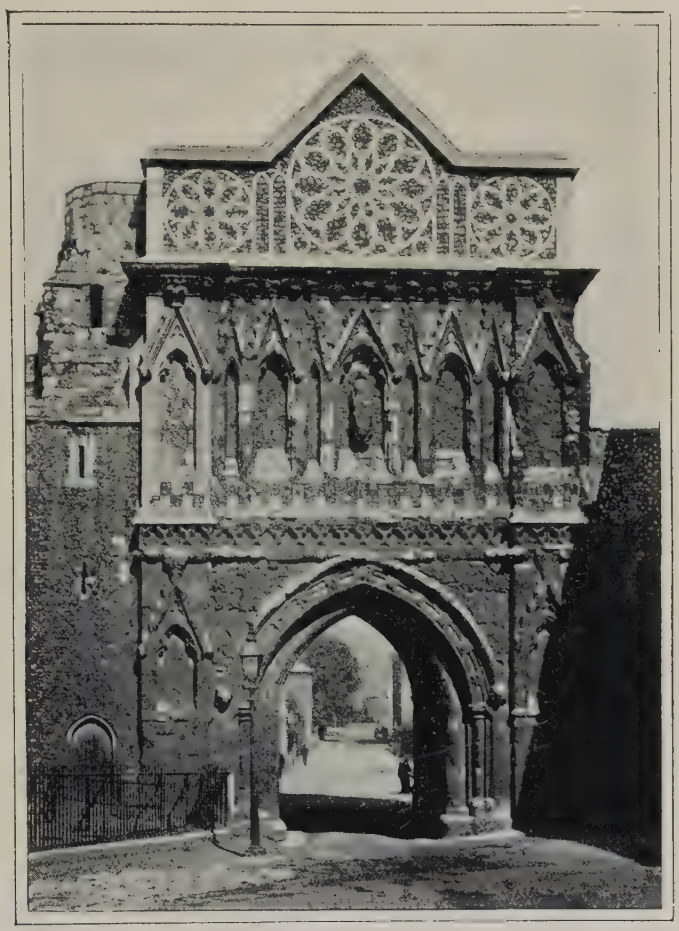
towns had emphasised the distinction between capital and labour, while it was essential that each craft should be so regulated as to provide employment for all its members. Another peculiarity of each craft was its isolation from surrounding fraternities. Thus the man who made bows must not provide arrows for the same; a cordwainer might not patch shoes nor a cobbler make them. Four separate crafts contributed to the making of a finished saddle and bridle; the joiner made the woodwork, which was decorated by the painter; the saddler supplied the leather, and the lorimer the metal trappings and appointments. Each craft had, as a rule, its own guild court and elective officers, and here all cases arising out of trade disputes or discipline were most conveniently determined. In some cases, indeed, the craftsmen could even claim to be tried by their guild court, rather than by the municipal authorities.

The duties of the guild officers were not confined to hearing cases brought for trial; they were actively engaged in the supervision of the workmanship and dealings of the craftsmen, particularly with a view to prevent frauds and misdemeanours, such as the use of improper weights and measures. In this way a very high standard of work was ensured, all "false" work, and "false" weights and measures and other tricks of trade being infallibly detected by these expert inspectors, and the offenders heavily punished. The importance of these precautions, in an age when skill supplied the place of capital, for procuring a connection in every trade will be obvious, and the Government had already set the example in another direction by a general insistence on fair dealing.

The few essential craft guilds which are enumerated in the Exchequer Rolls of the twelfth century had reached the number of some fifty important "mysteries" in London alone before the close of the fourteenth. The titles of these guilds are sufficient to prove the high degree of civilisation and even of luxury which had been attained in England before the middle of the fourteenth century. Manufactured articles in common use were no longer of necessity imported, and English craftsmen were able to hold their own with foreign artisans, though a number of the finer crafts were not

successfully practised in England until the immigration of the Protestant refugees in the sixteenth century.

It should be remembered, however, that the trades were not supported as in the present day by consumers of all



THE ETHELBERT GATE, NORWICH.

classes, but chiefly by the Court and nobility and wealthy burgesses, and that the rural districts had little share in the luxury of the towns.

Side by side with these minute trade regulations, others

Aliens. were framed for the purpose of limiting the operations of foreign merchants to the importation of desired commodities and the export of surplus products. On no account were they to intermeddle with the native trade, either by retailing or by occupying any position of profit or trust. Thus no alien might be an innkeeper, and the outcry against the alien farmers and customers of the Crown was loud and irresistible under the second Edward. Moreover, the duration of their stay was supposed to be limited to forty days, during which period they must pay the "rightful customs" (an increase of fifty per cent. in the case of wool) on coming into the city, whilst sojourning there, on "going forth into the parts of England," on returning thence to the city, and on departing homeward. Besides this, they were bound to sell *all* their wares within the forty days allotted, to prevent them from "enhancing" prices. They were also expected to spend freely during their stay, and to facilitate this good object a host was usually assigned to them. Strict precautions were also taken against "coverture," or a secret agreement by which aliens conducted their trade through the agency of natives. On the other hand, this uncharitable policy could not be carried out in all its rigour, and many concessions were made by the Crown in spite of the jealousy and distrust displayed by an interested class of its subjects. The most important of these concessions were made, however, on behalf of the merchants of Aquitaine and the Calais Staplers as representing the colonial interest of England; and even the Hanse traders ceased to enjoy the same favour as of old. The pursuit of national wealth was beginning to be associated with the growth of national power, and the favoured German traders of the thirteenth century only shared the fate of the Dutch in the seventeenth.

Economic Doctrine. At the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries the zenith of medieval prosperity had been reached, and it becomes worth while to consider the nature of the economic doctrines through which this happy result had been attained. Like all other sciences of this period, economic science is a strange mixture of shrewdness and credulity; but there is one feature of it which stands out with great distinctness—the rough, masterful policy by which

the immediate interests of the Crown or of the individual, and the fancied interests of the nation, were pursued at the expense of every external interest. We may criticise this policy as we please, but the fact remains that it was successful at the time and for long afterwards. It may be that this is only a question of sentiment, but sentiment was a very powerful economic factor even in those days. English citizens in the fourteenth century insisted on a rigorous exclusion of foreign competition, but they shrank from the

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY DRAWING OF LONDON (MS. Roy. 13 A. iii.).

practice of "usury" as a deadly sin. The impression left on our minds is that they understood their own interests too well to be mistaken in this matter. Their distrust of alien competitors was prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, strongly developed, like every other instinct in a rude state of society, and their aversion from "usury" was equally caused by an instinctive desire to provide for the welfare of all alike. No place could be found for capitalists and financiers in their economic theory. This, at least, was the avowed object of the lay and spiritual rulers who desired to follow the traditional policy marked out by the great English kings, while the relations of an unworthy or necessitous sovereign with Jewish mortgagees and Flemish or Lombard farmers of the customs

must assuredly have inflamed the passionate prejudices of their subjects.

The whole of the commercial history, and a large part of the constitutional history, of the Middle Ages is inextricably connected with this great problem, which may after all be interpreted in several different ways. In any case the subject is scarcely a profitable one, and we may turn with advantage to more pleasing topics.

Products

The pursuit of art in the several branches of trade in which it played a part — architecture, metal work, embroidery—was alike honourable and successful. There was no scamping of work in any English industry, and the charges brought against English merchants in this and other respects by foreign purchasers may be regarded in the light of professional recrimination, or of a diplomatic device to secure some commercial advantage. The attention paid to an unequalled coinage, the marvellous precision and elasticity combined of the fiscal arrangements, a vigilant police, improved methods of conveyance, and a noble outlay upon public works—all these things bear witness to the same high purpose of a commercial policy.

MASON PREPARING STONE.
(*Archæological Museum, Cambridge.*)

and Producers.

But the most healthy symptom of the national life, though not always so regarded in its own day, is the desire to improve upon the sordid surroundings of an imperfect civilisation, which is witnessed in an ever-increasing attention paid by the great middle class to decoration and learning, dress and all the other comforts and adornments which help to make men's lives wise and beautiful. Even the period of depression and

degradation which set in with the wanton war with France, and which was still further darkened by pestilence and political and social agitation, had its lessons and its compensations. But this harvest was not reaped until after the lapse of more than a hundred years from the close of the period before us, when the idea of a "national economy" begins for the first time to direct the commercial policy of statesmen and legislators.

C. CREIGHTON. Public Health.

THE otherwise weak rule of Edward II. was put to an unusual strain by a great famine in 1315–16. Prices for grain had been high for many years before, taxes had been heavy for the Scots wars, Bannockburn had been fought and lost in 1314. When the king lay at St. Albans Abbey, at Lawrence-tide, 1315, it was hardly possible to buy bread for himself and his household. The harvest of that year was greatly damaged by rains, and the winter was passed in misery and sickness, the diseases named being fever, dysentery, and "plague of the throat." The dead bodies of the peasantry were found by the roadsides; the dead in cities were buried in trenches, at all hours, canonical or other; the gaols were full of thieves; the people were driven to use horse-flesh, dog-flesh, and (it was whispered) even the flesh of children; and the starving felons in the gaols fell upon the thieves last brought in and tore them to pieces. It is significant of the habits of the English at the time that one of the remedial measures was to restrict the quantity of grain turned to malt instead of bread. According to one annalist, it was not until 1319 that the country came back to abundance; but it was not lasting, for in 1322 the king lost many of his men in Scotland by famine and disease; and such was the pinch in London the same year, that fifty-five persons, children and adults, were crushed to death in a scramble for bread doled out at the Blackfriars. The dole was on the occasion of a rich man's funeral. Whatever the common people suffered, the upper classes were living in luxury, and most of all the monks, who were at no period more splendid in their equipages and households.

JOSEPH JACOBS. The Expulsion of the Jews.

BEFORE Edward I. became king, he had successfully resisted the attempt of the Jews to obtain the feudal privileges attaching to the possession of the lands they held as pledges. This was violently opposed by the Bishops of the Council, for among the privileges would have been the right of presentation to livings, and to prevent such a sacrilege Jews were forbidden to hold land in any way, or even to receive rent charges. As this was the chief security on which money could be lent, this Statute of 1270 must have considerably restricted the possibilities of Jewish usury. Immediately after his return to England in 1274, Edward went still further, and adopted the heroic measure of forbidding all usury, whether by Jew or Christian. This was in direct response to the rescript of Gregory X. at the Council of Lyons calling upon all Christian princes to do their utmost for the repression of usury. Accordingly Edward I. in 1275 forbade usury to his Jews, and proposed, as an alternative, that they should become merchants or traders, or rent farms, though not for a longer period than ten years. But it was impossible to uproot in this arbitrary way the habits of centuries. Edward would not allow them to be in scot and lot[1] with other citizens of the town in which they dwelt, since they were "talliable (liable to pay dues) to the king as his own serfs and not otherwise." They could not, therefore, become burgesses, and were thus prevented from entering the Guild Merchant, while it was impossible for them to enter any of the craft guilds, since the Church forbade any Christian master having a Jewish apprentice. The natural result of the Statute of 1275 was that the Jews continued their usury in a disguised form, taking their interest in kind and not in money, receiving it as a benevolent "gift," or entering a larger sum upon the deed of loan than they actually handed over to the debtor. The lower classes of the Jews were tempted to resort to still more dishonourable means of gaining a livelihood, that of clipping the coin. Three years after the Statute of 1275 all the Jews of England were seized and imprisoned on this charge, and no less than 293 were hanged and drawn in London. Edward was compelled to revise his policy and to permit usury in a modified

[1 *I.e.*, on an equal footing as regards taxation and rights.]

form, the rate of interest being fixed at about 7 per cent., which was to run for only three years, while the registration of Jewish debts, and, therefore, their legalisation, by the State was again resumed. This might be sufficient to permit the Jews to earn a scanty livelihood, but was utterly inadequate to enable them to amass sums large enough to assist the king. It was from this period that the dependence of the English Treasury on the Italian banking associations began to be remarked. This measure could not, therefore, solve the Jewish question in England. If the Jews were not to be allowed to amass wealth sufficient for them to act as tax-gatherers to the king and bankers to his people, they had no function to play in the national life. If the king had been willing to give up his right of direct tallage upon them so that they might have joined in the commercial life of the English boroughs, they might have become traders and merchants. But, even if the king had been willing to forego his rights, the Church would have rendered any such attempt nugatory by preventing free intercourse between Jew and Christian on pain of excommunication to the latter. The only alternative seemed to lie in the hope of Jews becoming Christians, and that hope by the end of the thirteenth century had become faint indeed. Inducements had been held out to the Jews by the foundation of homes for the converted in Bristol, Oxford, and London, where they would be received and supported for life upon conversion. But only a ridiculous handful had succumbed to this temptation. Every assistance had been given by Edward to the preaching of the Dominican Friars, which was directly and almost mainly applied to the conversion of the Jews, but without result. Indeed, to the Church in its irritation there seemed more danger of Christians being converted to Judaism, and in

A DISESTABLISHED USURER.
(MS. Nero D. ii.)

1286 Honorius IV. addressed a Bull to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and all their suffragans, complaining of this danger, owing to the close intercourse of Jew and Christian, and calling upon the English Church to do all in its power to prevent such scandal.

There was only one way to prevent it. If the English Jews were not allowed on the one hand to work freely, on the other to mix freely with their fellow-citizens, they must be entirely removed from contact with the English soil by expulsion. Edward, as a faithful son of the Church, recognised the alternative. He was in Gascony when the Bull was issued, and immediately expelled the Jews from Gascony; and on his return to England four years later issued the Decree of Expulsion for all English Jews, numbering 16,000, by All Saints' Day, November 1st, 1290. It was the only logical result of the attitude of the Church towards Jews, or, indeed, towards all heretics in a State professing to be Christian. At the time of their explusion the English Jews had absolutely no means of earning a livelihood in an English State owing to the action of the Romish Church, which branded them as unworthy of any intercourse with Christians.

The medieval history of the Jews of England passes through the same phases as that in other countries throughout Europe—advantageous position at first, afterwards restrictions, then increasing dependence on the king or barons, confiscation, pillage, and, finally, expulsion. While the Church would not permit the entry into a Christian State of any but orthodox Christians, and while the Jew remained true to his faith, there was no logical alternative.

D. J. MEDLEY. Home Life in Medieval England.

THE two forms of secular dwelling which we associate with the Middle Ages are the castle and the manor house. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the former represented the strategical position which in days of imperfect social order it was important permanently to occupy: the protective contrivances of the manor house were of a very flimsy and temporary nature. In either case the internal arrangements were those of a manner of life which was spent largely in the open air. But as the power of the central Government

increased at the expense of the great feudal barons, the importance of the castles as means of defence diminished. True, the outward form of thick walls and battlements, gate-house, drawbridge, portcullis and moat was long retained. But the windows gradually ceased to be mere slits in the wall, the embattled form became a means of ornamentation often used where there was no structural need; the gates opened wider than prudence or necessity would dictate; the drawbridge became not only fixed, but a permanent structure of brick and stone; the moat not only stood dry, but ceased to encircle the complete range of buildings; a wall of circumvallation became the real boundary mark. Even more detrimental to the idea of defence were the buildings of all kinds which were gradually erected under this outer wall. For a long time these were mere wooden sheds, and were thus easy both to erect and also, when necessary, to destroy. About the middle of the thirteenth century these scattered buildings were gathered together into one block centring round the hall. Then, in process of time the walls of defence disappeared, and the retention of the castellated form of ornamentation scarcely concealed the difference between the old castle and the manor house. For, meanwhile, a change had also passed over the ancient manor house. For one cause and another, life became less nomadic. Landowners ceased to cultivate their more distant estates, and let them to tenant farmers. Hence the halls on the estates which they kept in their own hands became more permanent abodes, and buildings of stone accumulated round the original hall. Prudence as well as convenience dictated a quadrangular shape. If there was no strategic position to hold, there were the lives and possessions of its family to defend. Thus fortification of some kind became a practical necessity; licences to crenellate were obtained from the Crown, the buildings were surrounded with a moat which should prevent a too sudden incursion, and, but for the absence of a keep, the manor house of the fourteenth century became a small castle. **Dwellings.**

But in both these cases the old type of life remained unchanged—the life which found its domestic centre in the manorial hall. For, the changes just noted had done nothing to disturb the old form of the manor house. The central **The Hall.**

hall still stood, flanked on the one side by the cellar and the solar above it; on the other side by the domestic offices. The solar was placed invariably at the same end of the hall as the daïs, and was still generally approached from the court outside, not from the interior of the hall. At the opposite end of the hall would be two doors opening out into the "screens" —the name given to a passage which led from the front into the back court. On the further side of the screens were two doors admitting respectively to the buttery and the pantry, and between them ran a passage to the kitchen beyond.

MAKING TAPESTRY (MS. Add. 20,698).

The doors from the hall to the screens lay under the minstrels' gallery, to which access was often gained from a kind of antechamber placed over the screens themselves.

The interior arrangements of the hall continued much as they had been in previous centuries. In some colleges of the two old universities the fire continued to be lighted on the "reredos" or brazier in the middle of the room up to the beginning of the present century, while in the hall of Westminster School the practice was kept up until as late as 1850. But as early as the fourteenth century there were added fireplaces, either a single one or one on either side of a large hall, and the mantelpiece became a conspicuous

means of ornamentation. Similarly, the recess at the end of the daïs in which stood the cupboard of plate gradually increased in magnitude, until by the fifteenth century it had become

THE HALL, PENSHURST PLACE, KENT.
(By kind permission of Lord De l'Isle and Dudley.)

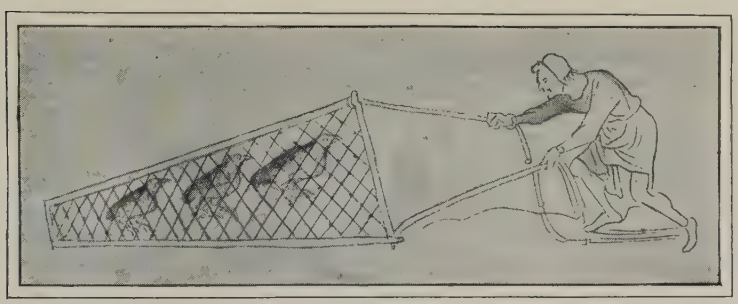
a handsome bay-window, and, without no less than within, formed one of the most striking features of the buildings. More generally, the floors were often tiled, but although carpets were used in other rooms, the hall continued to be

strewn with straw, rushes, or the boughs of trees. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the walls of the hall had been wainscotted and painted, or merely whitewashed, while tapestry hangings were reserved for the solar, or, at the most, were displayed at the back of the daïs. But in the course of the fourteenth century tapestry became at once more attainable and more prized, and it came to be hung all round the walls of the hall itself. The famous fabrics of Arras gave the most common name to such hangings. They formed the subject of princely gifts; they were moved from one house to another as the family changed its abode; on public occasions they were displayed along the streets and were carried in solemn procession. Moreover, as painted glass became sufficiently common to allow of its use for the windows of houses as well as of churches, the tapestry and the windows of great halls would be so arranged as to harmonise in composition of subjects and in scheme of colours. This was rendered more easy by the fact that for a long time windows, no less than tapestry, were movable. Casements were made to contain the painted glass; and the windows in different houses belonging to the same owner were built or altered to permit of the casements being transferred from one to the other. Nor did the fresco work of previous centuries disappear. Tapestry below, stained glass above, with the space between painted in fresco, the whole schemed to harmonise in subject and colour—the mural decorations of a large medieval hall in the fifteenth century in magnificence could hardly be surpassed by all the resources of modern art.

Food and Drink.

It is very probable that in modern eyes the ornamentation just described would appear tawdry, if not vulgar. And, that elaborateness does not mean refinement will be sufficiently clear from a consideration of the food provided for consumption in wealthy households. The dinner, which still remained the first real meal of the day, consisted, it is true, only of three courses; but each course comprised five or more dishes, and in their composition figured quantities of spices and all manner of rich sauces. Eating and drinking were both very gross. The quantity was great and the quality was strong. Thus in a receipt for hippocras—the "company" drink of

the Middle Ages—the brewer is bidden, if preparing it for a lord, to add well-paired ginger, thin sticks of cinnamon, graines of paradise, sugar, and turnesole (heliotrope), while for common people ginger, canel, long pepper, and honey are deemed sufficient. Again, in one year's consumption of the Percy household nearly £26 was expended on spices alone, and the items comprised not only ginger, "graines," mace, cloves, cinnamon, almonds, nutmegs, aniseed, galingale, long pepper, and saffron, but also raisins, prunes, dates, rice, and comfits, which we should not reckon among spices at all. It must be remembered that until the seventeenth century winter roots were practically unknown, so that it was impossible to keep alive more cattle than were necessary for the purpose of



SNARING BIRDS (MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.).

replenishing the stock. Consequently, in the autumn those destined for winter consumption were killed and salted down, and it was on this salt meat that even the greatest in the land lived for half the year. No less serious was the want of green vegetables, which explains the prevalence of scurvy and other skin diseases. The elaborate cookery was an attempt to overcome these disadvantages, and it was only the open-air life and the quantity and violence of the exercise taken by persons in all stations of society that endowed them with digestions sufficiently strong to cope with such unwholesome fare. Fast days and days of abstinence prescribed by the medieval Church brought no relief, except in a change of food. Meat was omitted, but the preparation of fish for the table was as careful a study as that of bird or beast. And, in the scarcity of fresh meat it seems as if the heavens

and the earth were scoured, no less than the depths of the waters, in the endeavour to procure edible food. All kinds of fish and fowls and animals, no matter how large or how small, were served up to table, and were esteemed great delicacies, which we should consider too coarse for our palates. Whales, porpoises, and sword-fish at one end of the scale, and minnows at the other end; mallards, ospreys, bustards, herons, cranes, and, of course, peacocks, no less than rooks, magpies, starlings, and even sparrows are all found figuring in medieval bills of fare. Nor did the true epicure disdain a hedgehog or a squirrel prepared with the appropriate sauce. But the great triumph of the culinary art was the "subtilty" with which each course of a banquet was ended. This consisted of an elaborate device in pastry, shaped into all kinds of fantastic forms, and bearing a rhyming motto in English, French, or Latin. Thus at the coronation feast of Henry V.'s Queen Katharine the first course was closed by

A sotyltie called a pellycan syttynge on his nest with her byrdes, and an image of Seynt Katheryne holdyng a booke and disputynge with the doctours, holdynge a reason in her right hande, sayinge, *Madame le royne*, and the pellican as an answere, *c'est la signe, Et du roy, pur tenir joy, Et a tout sa gent, Elle mete sa entent.*

The means of quenching the thirst were almost as numerous in the Middle Ages as at the present day. Ale was the common drink, and is not to be confused with beer. The former was made from barley or oaten malt, and must be drunk in a comparatively fresh condition. The addition of hops made it into beer which would keep longer, but which connoisseurs did not consider such a wholesome drink. Hops, however, were not introduced into England until the reign of Henry VIII. Another very common drink was mead, which is described as a compound of ginger, sugar, and honey. Mention is also found of metheglin, a preparation of herbs and honey; of braggot, a concoction of spices; and of posset, which was hot milk poured on ale or sack and flavoured with sugar, eggs, grated biscuit, and other ingredients. The wines in use were almost as numerous as at the present day, and came not only from Gascony and Spain, but also from Italy, Greece, Cyprus, and the islands of

CATCHING A HARE (MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.).

FISHING (MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.).

HUNTING DEER (MS Roy. 2 B. vii.).

the Archipelago. The most familiar names to modern ears are muscadel and malmsey. The extreme acidity of many of these wines would prevent a large consumption, but they were used extensively in the concoction of drinks described by the terms pyment, clarry, and the favourite hippocras. The two former were preparations with honey; the compounding of hippocras was a matter of the most serious thought, and all the choicest spices went to its making.

Growth of Domesticity.

So far, then, the old form of life remained, elaborated in details, but in spirit the same. The fifteenth century gradually introduces a new type. On the one side the feudal array had practically disappeared, and the feudal courts were attenuated: on the other side the status of the towns was increasing, and a wealthy merchant class was rising to importance. It was perhaps some compensation that the practices of "livery and maintenance" surrounded the great nobleman with a large retinue. But this did not affect the small landowners. At the same time, the change from tillage to pasture was displacing a large part of the rural population, and transformed the lord into little more than a mere rent-receiver. Again, the prevalence of guilds in small country towns is evidence of a wide development of the artisan class, which made it less necessary for manorial lords to keep large bodies of workmen on their domestic establishment. Finally, luxury was growing with the growth of trade, and comfort was preferred to splendour. As a consequence of these changes, life for the country gentleman became more domestic. On the one side he had to find food and accommodation for a smaller number of dependents; on the other side he wanted more accommodation and better food for himself and his own family. The outward mark of this change was the gradual disappearance of the importance of the hall as the centre of social life. Among monastic buildings we distinguish the parlour as a reception-room for business visitors. The first step towards domesticity in private life was the introduction of a similar apartment into the manor house. Here it formed at first a kind of lesser hall where the company for the daïs assembled before dinner, and then it passed into a dining-room where the lord and his friends could enjoy each other's company in a more private and comfortable manner. Unlike

Roasting.

Preparing Dinner.

Dishing up.

AT TABLE.

(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

the solar, the parlour never served also as a bedroom. But large houses soon passed beyond this simple arrangement.

New Rooms.

The elimination of the hall was the result of a growing distinction between the dining-room, the sitting-room, and the bedrooms. The parlour of the small manor house became the dining-room of the large mansion; the withdrawing-room took the place of the old solar as the private sitting-room of the family and their distinguished guests. These new rooms were obtained in various ways. The simplest method of all was to turn the cellar into the dining-room, and to appropriate the solar above to the special uses of a withdrawing-room. It did not require a much greater expenditure of labour to partition off the daïs end from the rest of the hall for use as a dining-room. But occasionally the whole character of the old building was changed; a lofty hall was divided horizontally by the insertion of floors, the ground floor serving as the dining-room, with the drawing-room above it, and occasionally a second floor was used as a dormitory for the servants. The lady's bower, or boudoir, and the lord's room were further developments in the direction of individual privacy. But to our ideas the chief test of privacy of life

Bedrooms.

would be the provision of separate bedrooms. The appropriation of the solar for the drawing-room was only possible because strangers were now furnished with separate guest-rooms, and the lord and lady had their own bed-chamber.

AN INTERIOR (MS. Canon. Lit. 99).
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Even the domestic servants, on ordinary occasions, ceased to sleep in the hall, and, where the hall was cut up into dining-room and drawing-room, provision had, of course, to be made for them elsewhere. This growth of the desire for privacy had an instructive effect on the furniture of the bedroom. Instead of several persons occupying one bed, and that bed a mere pallet of straw stretched on a wooden frame, we now read of beds with the most elaborate hangings and coverlets. The four-poster of our grandparents did not come into use until the sixteenth century. The canopy, or tester, which preceded it, was fixed to the wall, not to the bed itself; but it was often so extended as to cover the whole bed beneath. Mattresses were more commonly made of down and feathers, and the elaborateness of the hangings and of the general furniture of the bed may be gathered from the fact that in the fifteenth century they found a prominent place in the bequests of donors both of the wealthy and of the middle class. A characteristic arrangement of the age should not be omitted. The valet or maid sleeping in the same room with their master or mistress occupied a truckle or trundle bed which, as the name implies, could be rolled out of the way under the larger bed. Nor, in noting the movement towards a more refined manner of life, should mention be omitted of the introduction of nightshirts during the fifteenth century.

BAKEHOUSE (MS. Canon. Lit. 99).
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Domestic Offices.

But we have not yet done with the manor house. So far we have dealt only with the changes at one end of the hall. But during the fourteenth century the more sedentary habits of the lords transformed the kitchen and domestic

BERKELEY CASTLE CHAPEL.
(*By kind permission of Lord Fitzhardinge.*)

offices into permanent structures of stone and brick. At first these offices were very numerous, and included such chambers as the *lardarium*, where the meat potted for winter use was stored, and the *salsarium*, which similarly contained the

salted provisions, as well as a bakehouse and a brewhouse. But the development of trades did away with the need of most of, or sometimes all, such chambers, while the resulting simplicity of life was perhaps in its turn responsible for the frequent disappearance of the distinction between such universally existing rooms as the pantry, whence the bread was issued, and the buttery, whose official was the dispenser of the drink. The beer and wine were now the exclusive contents of the cellar, and in the place of the extensive wardrobes or store-rooms of a previous age is found the less unwieldy cupboard of modern days.

Two other characteristics are worth noting in the buildings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The gateways, no longer devoted primarily to defence, became handsome gatehouses, divided off into numerous chambers, often bedrooms. Sometimes they even contained the private chapel. Very often, however, for the chapel a most noteworthy disposition seems to have been made in the main building. The part which contained the *sacrarium*, or chancel, with its altar, was open from floor to roof of the house; the other part, representing the nave, consisted of two floors, separated from the sacrarium by a screen which ran the whole height of the building in front of both floors. The lower floor might form the priest's room or the place of attendance for the household: the upper floor was a sitting-room, or even a bedroom, appropriately furnished and adorned with a fireplace. Thence the lord, his lady, and their friends, no matter what their occupation, could witness the elevation of the host in the chapel below.

The Training of Children: Boys.

Writers have noticed the tendency of the Middle Ages to confound the major and minor morals—to make as much of a breach of etiquette as of a sin against one of the Ten Commandments. This is aptly illustrated in a number of rhyming treatises[1] of the fifteenth century, written for the instruction of the young in the rules of good conduct. Many of them are concerned merely with behaviour at table, and with such important branches of the art of living as cookery and the carving of joints. The precepts of one of these

[1] Collected by Mr. F. J. Furnivall in "Manners and Meals in Olden Time," published for the Early English Text Society (No. 32).

their modern editor illustrates by reference to a book of directions to footmen, published in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Many of these directions are of precisely similar tenor to those found in the fifteenth century treatises. But, for the present purpose the instructive part of these treatises lies in the fact that they were not, like modern books of etiquette, written by a socially superior class for the information of their inferiors who ministered to their material comforts or whose life was cast among surroundings superior to their birth. Many of the old treatises in question are concerned with the conduct of the whole of life, and all are written for the young at a period when one of the most important duties of the gently nurtured youths was to wait at their lord's table and minister generally to his material wants. The triviality of the directions contained in some of these short treatises might incline a modern reader to question their intention; but there is no doubt that they were written in all seriousness, and the rhyming form which they commonly take was meant to aid their retention in the memory at a time when books were rare and all teaching was perforce oral in character. Thus they present us with the most vivid picture of the standard of refinement reached by the well-to-do classes in the fifteenth century. The spirit in which the writers set about their work may be gathered from a "Lesson of Wysedome for all maner Chyldryn," in which "Symon," the author, says:

BOYS' SCHOOL (MS. Roy. 6 E. vi.)

> My child, I rede thee be wise and take heed of this rhyme!
> Old men in proverb said by old time,
> "A child were better to be unborn
> Than to be untaught;"

while two others, in almost identical terms, preface their directions for courteous behaviour by the remark that

All vertus be closyde in curtasy.

The youth is recommended to get up betimes, to wash himself, and to say his prayers. Directions are sometimes added about the way in which he shall dress himself, and details are even given about blowing his nose, paring his nails, and other operations of the toilet which we should expect our children to learn in the nursery, and which, however necessary, we should consider indelicate, if not positively indecent, to find in a book of precepts for behaviour. The boy is then bidden to salute his parents, and even to kneel and ask their blessing. On his way to school he is to greet the passers-by, not to throw stones at dogs or hogs, or to go birds' nesting. At school he is bidden to stick to his books, and is reminded that learning and industry are the road to preferment in life, while for the laggard and the careless there remains the birch. The unwillingness of the natural boy to learn is humorously illustrated by a short poem, in which the boy laments the necessity of learning in order to become a "clerk." When he is late

My master lokith as he were madde:
"Wher has thou be, thou sory ladde?"
"Milked dukkis, my moder badde."

The master has heard the kind of excuse before, and the youth, sore in mind and body, vents his impotent rage in characteristic schoolboy imaginings:

BIRCHING A BOY (MS. Roy. 6 E. vi.).

I wold my master were an hare,
And all his bokis howndis were,
And I myself a joly huntere:
To blow my horn I wold not spare!
For if he were dede I wold not care.

A great many irreproachable moral precepts are scattered up and down these numerous treatises—be careful what company you keep, don't be a tale-bearer, avoid dicing and such-like dangerous amusements, be courteous and unselfish to everyone. But the larger part of the space which the writers devote to their theme is in most cases taken up with directions for waiting on a lord at table and for one's own behaviour during meals. The demeanour of a squire towards his lord is at all times to be marked by a deferential courtesy of act and speech which modern minds associate with the "good old days." Bow to your lord when you speak to him; kneel on one knee when you offer him anything; don't speak unless he speaks to you, and then answer in as few words as possible. As for the youth's own behaviour, it was evidently thought that directions for his guidance could not be too minute. He was recommended to keep his nails clean lest he should offend his neighbour, not to spit upon the table, nor to pick his teeth with a knife nor to clean them with the tablecloth. The management of the nose seems to have given our authors much cause for thought. Allusions to a pocket handkerchief in the fifteenth century are not quite unknown; but the use of the fingers is generally presumed, and the neophyte is bidden to wipe his hand secretly on his shirt or in his tippet. For a man capable of such social solecisms it would seem to us a small matter that he should put his fingers into his cup, or, before placing his food in his mouth, should dip it piece by piece into the common salt-cellar.

Girls.

These tracts are almost entirely concerned with the conduct of men, especially of young men. But there is one dealing with the gentler sex, of which mention should by no means be omitted. "How the good wife taught her daughter" consists for the most part of sufficiently commonplace sentiments—accept a good offer when it comes; be true to your husband; look well after your household. There is much sense in the recommendation that if children are naughty the young wife should not nag at them,

> But take a smart rodde and bete them on a rowe,
> Til they crie mercy, and be of their guilt aknowe.

A warning against extravagance is enforced by a forgotten

proverb, "After the wrenne hath veynes men must lete hir blood"; in other words, you must cut your coat according to your cloth. But a flood of light seems to pour in on medieval society from the remark that respectable women don't go to public entertainments, such as a "wrastelinge" or a "schotynge at cok"; while we stand aghast at the direction that if good ale is "on lofte"—that is, to be had—a woman must drink moderately, for if she is often drunk she falls into disgrace. The concluding aphorism that

> Those that ben oft drunken
> Thrift is from them sunken,

is borne out by all the statistics of modern intemperance.

AUTHORITIES.—1274–1348.

GENERAL HISTORY.

Reign of Edward I.—Rishanger's *Chronicle* and Trivet's *Annals;* Matthew of Westminster; the Monastic Annals, especially those of Osney, Dunstable, and Waverley; the full and valuable Chronicle of Walter of Hemingburgh; these, with the Statute Book, the Royal Rolls, and Rymer's *Fœdera*, give a full and picturesque contemporary view of Edward I.'s reign. The Political Songs supply some touches, and the collection of writs in Stubbs's *Select Charters* is invaluable.

Modern Books.—Few, if any, periods of our history have been so grossly misrepresented as this reign. For the Scottish question, Burton's *History of Scotland* may be taken as an impartial book, between Freeman's *Essay* on Edward on the one side, and Robertson's *Scotland under Her Early Kings* on the other. The Church quarrel, the constitutional growth, and the deeper aspects of the time are best seen in Stubbs's *Constitutional History and Early Plantagenets.* For a good general view, *see* Tout's *Edward I.* (Statesmen Series).

Reign of Edward II.—The chief contemporary writers are: John of Trokelowe and St. Albans; the misnamed Monk of Malmesbury; the knight, Sir Thomas de la Moor; the diplomatist, Adam of Murimuth; and the continuator of Hemingburgh; these, and others, are given in the volumes of the Rolls Series on Edward II. Best modern accounts: Stubbs's *Constitutional History* and *Early Plantagenets* (last chapter), supplemented by Burton for Scottish affairs.

Reign of Edward III., 1327–1348.—The Chronicles of Walter of Hemingburgh, Adam of Murimuth, and Robert Avesbury are the primary contemporary authorities, supplemented by a St. Albans Chronicle in the Rolls Series, the Lanercost Annals, and the Chroniques of John le Bel (so largely used by Froissart), and by the somewhat later works of Knyghton and Walsingham. The Rolls of Parliament and the Fœdera Collection give invaluable details. Of modern works the most useful are: Longman, *Life and Times of Edward III.* (for social history and the wars); Bright, *History of England* (for full and accurate facts); Green, *History of the English People* (especially on social and literary subjects); and, above all, Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, Vol. II., which has in most parts, but not in all, superseded the account in Hallam's *Middle Ages.*

Wales.—Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; the works of Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls Series); the *Ecclesiastical History* of Ordericus Vitalis; Royal Letters (Rolls Series); Welsh poems published in *Myfyrian Archæology.* See list for Chap. xi.

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Religion.—Chronicles of Edward I., ed. Stubbs, viz.: *London Annals*, Lambeth Continuation of the *Flores Historiarum*, *Encomium of Edward I.*, *Lives of Edward II.* by the Monk of Malmesbury, a Canon of Bridlington and Sir Thomas de la Moor; Chronicle of Bartholomew Cotton; *Flores Historiarum*, Vol. III.; Chronicle of John de Oxenedes; Peckham's *Register*, 3 vols. (all the above in Rolls Series). Wright, *Political Songs* (Camden Soc.). *See also* Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages;* Stubbs, works cited above, and prefaces to volumes above mentioned. Many interesting examples of Church usages are brought together in Cutts's *Dictionary of the Church of England* and Perry's *History of the Church of England.*

History of Law.—The authorities consist chiefly of (1) Statutes, (2) Reports, (3) Text Books. Of the statutes there are many editions: the fullest is that published by the Record Commission. A series of Reports, known as *Year Books*, begins in the reign of Edward I. and ends in that of Henry VIII., but there are many gaps in the series; those of Edward I.'s reign are printed in the Rolls Series, and some of those of Edward III.'s reign are being edited in the same Series by Mr. Pike. The old printed editions of the other *Year Books* are extremely faulty. When the *Year Books* stop in Henry VIII.'s reign, we begin to get, for the first time, reports which are known by the names of their compilers, *e.g.* those of Dyer; the reports of Plowden and Coke are among the most celebrated. Of the text-books of the later Middle Ages, Littleton's *Tenures* is the only book of any merit; it comes from the 15th century. Coke, in his four *Institutes*, sums up a great part of the law of his own day and of earlier times in a very disorderly fashion. Much historical matter is to be found in Hale's various works and in Blackstone's Commentaries, and several portions of English law have in recent times found historians. The best general history is still that compiled by John Reeves.

Warfare.—Froissart, and other chronicles, *passim;* Hewitt, *Ancient Armour* (Oxford, 1860); Clark, *Mediæval Military Architecture* (1886); Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages;* Köhler, *Kriegswesen in der Ritterzeit* (Breslau, 1889).

Naval Matters.—See list for Chap. III. Most of the original authorities have been published by the Record Commission. Among modern books Sir Harris Nicolas's *Naval History* and Laird Clowes's *History of the Royal Navy* may be mentioned.

Architecture and Art.—Fergusson, *Gothic Architecture;* Rickman, *Gothic Architecture;* Parker, *Glossary* and *Introduction to Gothic Architecture;* Murray's *Cathedral Handbooks;* Scott, *Mediæval Architecture;* Turner and Parker, *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages;* Willis, *Canterbury;* Stanley, *Westminster Abbey;* Eastlake, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting;* Clark, *Mediæval Military Architecture in England;* Winston, *Inquiry into the Difference of Style in Ancient Glass Paintings.*

Coins.—As for Chaps. II. and IV.

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on Science shows the important position of Astronomy in medieval Science; *see also* Bacon, *Opera Inedita* (Brewer).

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WRESTLING, TO BE FOLLOWED BY COCK-SHOOTING (MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.).

CHAPTER VI.

THE BLACK DEATH, AND AFTERWARDS. 1348–1399.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. The Black Death.

THE political history of the latter half of the fourteenth century is far from unimportant; but its greatest events shrink into insignificance in presence of that tremendous social calamity which changed the whole face of rural England, and, by transforming her agricultural system, gave a new direction to her industries, left a lasting impress on her laws, her arts, and her manners, and, in a word, profoundly and permanently affected the whole future course of her political, social and economic life.

The Black Death which invaded England in 1348 was the same disease that was afterwards known as the plague. From that invasion it had a continuous history in England down to the Great Plague of London, and was indeed the grand zymotic disease of the country for more than three hundred years. It was a peculiarly fatal infection, and, for the most part, quick in its operation. In later times about one-half of all that were attacked died, the fatality growing less and the course of the disease more chronic as an outbreak declined; but in the first great invasion it is probable that the deaths were many more than the recoveries, and it is known that the victims often died within twenty-four hours of the onset, and probably in most cases before the end of the third day. In later times, also, it was nearly always the poorer classes that died, perhaps because they had not the means of escaping from the infected spot as their betters did; but in the Black Death all classes died—the Archbishop of Canterbury and many wardens of City Companies in London, abbots and priors of monasteries, with a great part of the monks and lay brethren, the parish clergy, and the farmers or yeomen of the manors, as well as the labourers. There was no escaping from the Black Death by flight, unless those escaped who took to the water in boats, just as many Londoners in the

plague of 1665 passed the dangerous time on board vessels in the Thames. More men than women died, and more in the prime of life or of middle age than aged persons or children.

Symptoms and Character.

The one great and appalling symptom was the sudden appearance of risings or botches in the groin, or in the arm-pit, or in the neck; these were the natural lymph-glands or absorbent glands of those regions, enormously swollen, to the size of a hen's egg or larger, tense and painful, and occupied with a hard or dry substance which yielded not one drop of matter when lanced, and could not be made to break by poulticing. Many cases had also red or livid spots on the breast or back, which were of the worst possible omen, and were known as "God's tokens." Carbuncles were apt to form in the fleshy parts of the trunk and limbs; and there might be still a fourth class of external signs in the form of blains or small boils dispersed over the skin, which had a core as if they had been diminutive carbuncles. In some cases—but it would seem not in all—the skin around these various formations was red, hot, tender, and swollen; thus the thigh would be inflamed if the bubo were in the groin. Whenever the buboes broke or suppurated, as they were most apt to do towards the end of a plague-season, the patient's chances of recovery were greatly increased, while his recovery would be at the same time very slow. These were the external marks of the Black Death and of plague at all times and in all places. But the Black Death had another symptom, which indicated a special degree of malignancy—namely, vomiting or spitting of blood; it is mentioned by only one of our native chroniclers, a friar of Kilkenny, and mentioned by him in such a way as if it had not been a symptom of every case. One other great symptom, common to plague at all times, was the delirium or raving, which was sometimes gentle and sometimes violent, and by no means universal in either degree. As in the other infections which rank with plague in deadliness, Asiatic cholera and yellow fever, the last hours of the patient were often placid and conscious; but there was also a more militant type of symptoms with loud crying from the pain of the dry and tense botches, and delirium, even to the extent of rising from the bed and rushing out of doors.

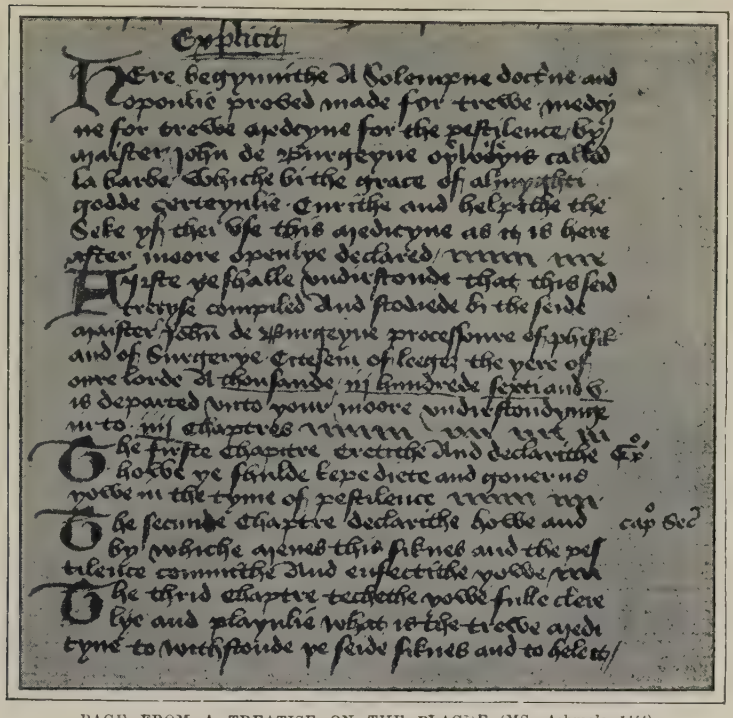
Progress and Route.

The Black Death is first heard of in the Crimea, at the siege of a small Genoese fort on the Straits of Kertch. The fort was a trading place of the Italian merchants engaged in the overland China trade by a northern route which left China close to the Great Wall and had its European terminus on the Volga and the Caspian, the Don and the Euxine. According to the rumour of the time, the Black Death arose in China from the putrefaction of innumerable unburied corpses; and it is known that the natural calamities of China —floods, droughts, and earthquakes, attended by famines and fevers and by an immense loss of life—were frequent throughout a whole generation preceding. It is natural to think of the overland caravan trade, which was then an extensive one, as a means of bringing the infection to Europe. At all events, it is significant that the Black Death is first heard of at one of the fortified posts of the China merchants, within which they had taken refuge with their goods from the depredations of the Tartar hordes. The outbreak of the plague had the effect of raising the siege; the Tartars dispersed all over the regions of the Black Sea and Caspian, and started the infection on its travels eastwards to the Central Asian khanates, as well as to Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; while it was brought to Constantinople by ships from the Euxine, and to Genoa by the very ship which rescued the besieged China merchants from the Crimean fort.

The Black Death in the British Isles.

These events appear to have happened in the years 1346–47; by 1348 the disease was spread all over the shores of the Mediterranean; and in the beginning of August in that year it landed at Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire. Within a fortnight it was in Bristol, and soon after that in Gloucester; by the new year the whole diocese of Bath and Wells was feeling the want of priests to perform the last offices for the plague-stricken. London, in the one direction, was reached about the 1st November, while in its south-western progress the infection had got as far as Bodmin shortly before Christmas. Early in the spring of 1349, the mortality began in Norfolk, and in the course of that summer and autumn it seems to have overtaken all other parts of England, being heard of in the abbey of Meaux, in Holdernesse, in

the month of August. Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were all invaded in due course. In Ireland the disease was first seen on the shores of Dublin Bay in August, but whether of 1348 or 1349 is uncertain, and it was in Kilkenny during the Lent following. The chief part of the mortality in



PAGE FROM A TREATISE ON THE PLAGUE (MS. Ashmole, 1444).
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

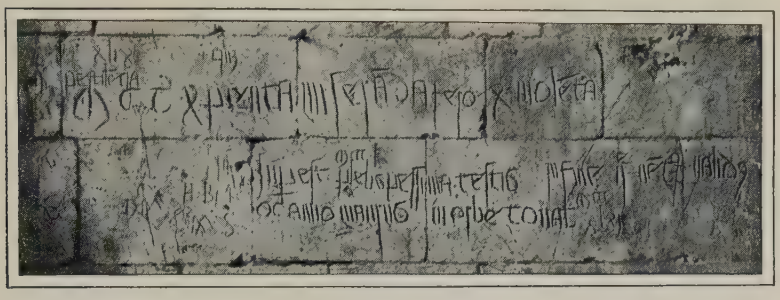
Scotland was in the year 1350. In London the epidemic is said to have ceased about Whitsuntide, 1349, and it was certainly on the decline by that time, April having been its worst month, as appears from the number of wills proved. It is said to have come to an end in the city of York in July, and all over England about Michaelmas, 1349; so that it would have lasted about fourteen months from its landing in Dorset, and perhaps from four to six or eight months at any given point of its progress, according to the number of people left alive and susceptible.

Two-thirds of the parish clergy in Norfolk died, and at least one-half in the archdeaconries of Nottingham, the West Riding and the North Riding of Yorkshire; according to the new researches, the rates were similar in all England. In the monasteries, with the remarkable exception of Canterbury, the mortality was even greater than among the parish clergy. In London the highest mortality was over two hundred in a day, which would mean, according to the usual course of plague-epidemics in the capital in later times, a total mortality of some twenty thousand, or nearly one-half of the population. In Bodmin fifteen hundred are said to have died, and in Leicester about eighteen hundred—in both cases about one-half of the estimated population; and these may be taken as fair samples of the towns. In the manor of Winslow one hundred and fifty-three tenants died, and it is reckoned that the proportion of deaths among the small farmers who served on the jury was three-fifths. The eastern counties suffered most, especially the city of Norwich, which was for many years afterwards reduced from being the second city in the kingdom to the sixth place, with a population not more than one-third of what it had been before the Black Death. The whole of England, town and country alike, had probably lost from one-third to one-half of its inhabitants. England was not so populous again until the reign of Elizabeth.

W. J. CORBETT. The Agricultural Revolution.

The state of the agricultural classes in England during the first half of the fourteenth century, though not, perhaps, quite so prosperous and satisfactory as in the thirteenth, was still, as has been shown, steadily progressive. From the point of view of the peasantry, indeed, there was a very remarkable advance; for it was during this period that the first definite steps were taken towards the extinction of serfdom. In consequence, as we have already seen, by the middle of the reign of Edward III. there had arisen an entirely new and increasingly numerous class of labourers who worked for wages, and who, though not legally free, were for the most part so far their own masters that they sought work wherever they could find it. This great change, which on the Continent was not even initiated till some centuries later, in most countries was not

completed till after the French Revolution. But in England it had begun so spontaneously, and, up to the period now before us, progressed so rapidly and smoothly and in such a variety of localities, that when the year 1348 opened, there really seemed to be no reason why, in the course of another few decades, the spirit of liberty should not have obtained a complete triumph throughout the length and breadth of the country, and the ancient obligations of the serfs to render personal services on their lords' demesnes become entirely obsolete. Even the disastrous period of famine between 1311 and 1321 followed as it undoubtedly was by a decline in the



THE BLACK DEATH: A CONTEMPORARY INSCRIPTION.
(*Ashwell Church, Herts.*)

number of the working population and a consequent rise in wages, does not appear to have materially deterred the land-owners from continuing to adopt the new wage system in farming their estates, or to have tempted those who had already done so to revert to the older system of services when they found their expenses in wages much greater than they had originally expected. In fact, at this time all the signs served to point to continued progress, and there was hardly a cloud to darken the agricultural outlook unless it were the growing luxury and ostentation which became a feature in the life of nearly all classes of the nation in the reign of Edward III.; while even this seemed to be justified by the constant growth of commerce and the still more extraordinary successes which attended our armies in the great French War.

In a moment, however, all this was changed, and before 1349 had run its course all further hope of progress for

The Preparation for the Peasant Revolt.

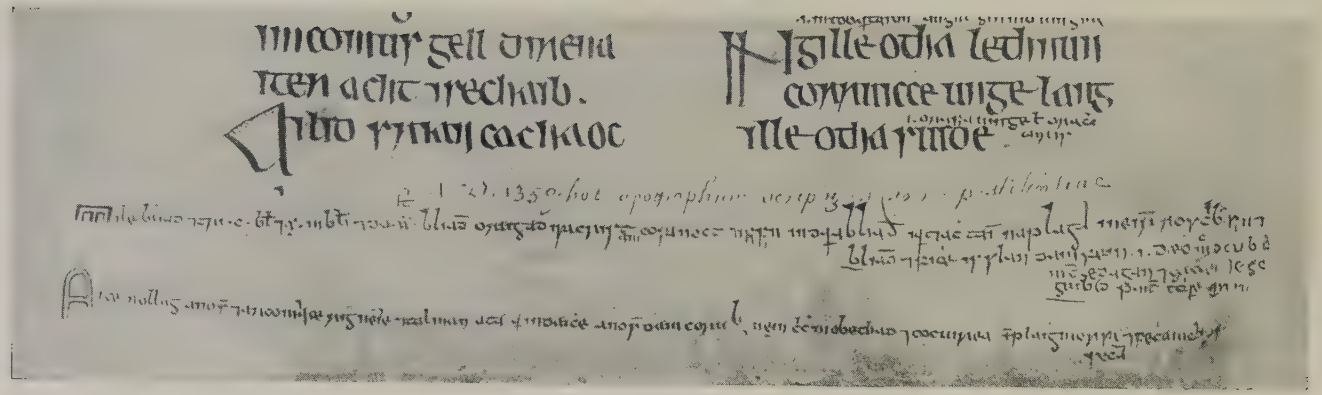
some time to come had died away. For a struggle had been inaugurated between the labourers and their employers, which was to last for at least two generations, and which in its earlier stages even seemed likely to lead to a complete reaction, and a general reintroduction of the discarded labour services. In the end such a retrogression was happily avoided, but for a time the fate of the labourers undoubtedly hung evenly in the balance. That so startling a change could ever have become a possibility demands an explanation, and the explanation is found in the Black Death. The mortality in the towns has been described in the previous section: and in some country districts where the evidence has been most fully examined, it can even be shown that the disease was more virulent and deadly than in the crowded alleys of the towns. For example, with regard to East Anglia, at this time one of the most populous and prosperous districts in all England, we are told by Dr. Jessopp that in Hunstanton, a parish of some 2,000 acres, 172 tenants of the manor all died within eight months, including the parish priest; and that of these, seventy-four left no male heirs behind them, and nineteen others absolutely no blood relations at all to inherit their holdings. That in a similar way at Hadeston, near Norwich, there died fifty-four men and fourteen women out of a population of less than 400, and that in many cases their whole families must have perished with them; for, as the court rolls show, twenty-four of these holdings escheated to the lord. At Heacham, near Hunstanton, a dispute between a husband and wife about the latter's dower, was in April put down by the steward of the manor for hearing before himself and the homage at the next sitting of the court, which would occur in two months' time; but when the day came every one of the wife's witnesses was dead, and the husband also. These exact statistics from the court rolls are, however, perhaps hardly so eloquent as the absolute silence with which these months of pestilence are passed over in the otherwise unbroken records of many manors, showing that the courts had ceased to be held altogether, and that in all probability not only the steward, but also every one else who was capable of keeping the rolls, had succumbed. For when the records do begin again, it is usually in the scrawling handwriting of a novice, and in the most informal style.

We may dismiss as an exaggeration Walsingham's assertion that only a tenth part of the people of England remained alive when the fury of the plague abated in 1350; but there is no real danger of our making a mistake if we estimate the total loss in life to the nation from the epidemic at about one-half of the population (p. 188). This is a large but not too liberal figure, for it must be remembered that as usual the pestilence did not come alone, but was attended by its handmaidens dearth and starvation; and these also claimed their victims. For a time, indeed, cultivation became impossible, and the "sheep and cattle strayed through the fields and corn, and there were none left who could drive them." Harvests rotted in the ground, and the fields were left unploughed. The disorganisation of labour in fact was complete, and must be insisted on, for it is only after first grasping the great extent of the mortality of these years, and the extraordinary decrease in the number of men available for labour in the fields that consequently ensued, that we can adequately account for or even understand the subsequent course of agricultural history. When once this has been done, however, all becomes comparatively plain, and it is easy to see what a formidable difficulty the landowners found themselves in as soon as ever the panic caused by the Black Death had begun to subside. For now instead of there being everywhere a fair abundance of labourers who were either willing or who could be made to work, there was everywhere a scarcity. The supply, too, of hired labour which was available to carry on the farming of the country had not only absolutely diminished, but the demand for it on the part of the landowners had also relatively increased. For nearly all landowners must have had large quantities of land thrown upon their hands, owing to their tenants having died without leaving any successors; and this they were now obliged to work for themselves in addition to their old demesne lands proper, or else they must allow it to go out of cultivation and lie idle altogether. Consequently, even supposing that they could still count upon securing enough hands to work what they formerly farmed, they would none the less still be in want of extra hands, in addition to the number that they employed before the plague, in order to work the extra area and thus make up for the loss of the

Scarcity of Labour.

rents and other fees which the disappearance of the tenants had entailed. In a similar way, even those landowners who had held fast to the old methods of farming, and never commuted the labour services of their villeins, now for the first time in many cases were obliged to have recourse to hired labour whether they liked it or not. For many manors were so depopulated and devastated by the plague that there was no longer a tenantry to be found on them either numerous enough or efficient enough to carry on the cultivation of the demesne with their services, and the farming never could have been kept up unless additional labour had been introduced. This, however, could only be secured by paying for it, for not even the most exacting landlord could have dared to increase beyond what was customary the amount of services due from those who survived; while it is very improbable that it would have been of any use at such a season as this to fall back upon their collective responsibility, although, as we have seen, in theory this would no doubt have been possible.

Just at this time, therefore, when the ranks of the hired labourers had been extraordinarily thinned, hired labour became the one thing that all landowners alike were most in need of. In other words, the labourers having become indispensable, found themselves the masters of the situation, and the natural result of course followed. Their demands for wages increased enormously; in some cases they even more than doubled them, and yet they were not satisfied. Especially was this the case, as might be expected, in those employments where the rate of wages formerly paid had been exceedingly low, for now it took a great deal to induce any one to undertake any service that was more than usually exacting or disagreeable. Women, for instance, who before had done a great deal of the inferior kind of work for a penny a day and even less, now invariably demanded twopence, and sometimes even obtained threepence. As the poet, William Langland, who wrote only a few years later than 1350, tells us: "Labourers that have no land to live on but their hands, disdained to live on penny ale or bacon, but demanded fresh flesh or fish, fried or baked, and that hot and hotter for chilling of their maw; and but if they be highly hired, else will they chide and wail the time that they were



["One thousand three hundred and fifty years from the birth of Christ till this night: and this is the second year since the coming of the plague into Ireland. I have written this in the twentieth year of my age. I am Hugh, son of Conor MacEagan, and whosoever reads it let him offer a prayer of mercy for my soul. This is Christmas night, and I place myself under the protection of the King of heaven and earth, beseeching that He will bring me and my friends safe through this plague. Hugh, son of Conor MacEagan, who wrote this in his father's book in the year of the great plague."]

A CRY FROM PLAGUE-STRICKEN IRELAND.

(*Trinity College, Dublin: written on the lower margins of two pages of the Senchus Mor.*)

made workmen." Of every quarter of wheat harvested, one-eighth had now to be paid over to the workmen as wages, instead of one-twelfth only as before the plague, while a further addition of thirty per cent. on the old rates had to be paid to get it threshed. Very little time had to elapse before such a state of things began to tell heavily on the landowners, and they were soon at their wits' end to know what to do, for one and all found themselves in a dilemma, and had to choose between losing their incomes by letting their fields lie uncultivated, or equally losing by attempting to cultivate them.

The Landlords' View.

It could not be expected that any large body of men, when they found themselves in such a predicament, would long be content to submit passively to their evil fortune. The Berkeley, for instance, whose manor of Ham had become so depopulated that he had to hire "as many workfolk as amounted to 1,144 days' work" to gather in his harvest, must soon have lost patience and begun thinking of how things might be quickest restored to their old position. So also must the lord of Great Tew in Essex, whose tenants had once owed him 2,000 days' service in winter and 580 in autumn, for which, however, he had unfortunately accepted a commutation at the rates of a halfpenny and penny respectively. Only a small proportion of these could now in all probability have been paid, while instead, even in winter, he had to give each labourer threepence for doing an equivalent amount of work, and much more in the busier season. It must be remembered, too, that in the eyes of the men of these times the increased demands of the labourers, however natural they may seem to us, must have appeared distinctly immoral. For what else was it but an attempt to take advantage of the necessity of others, an action which all medieval teachers denounced, and which in many cases was even forbidden by legislation? It was very obvious, also, that in another way the new state of things was likely to become a danger to the country, for when the wandering labourer could find no landlord who was willing to pay him exactly what he demanded, he very easily turned into a "sturdy beggar," even if he did not go to greater lengths and take to the woods in the character of Robin Hood. The landlords,

in fact, can have had very little difficulty in convincing themselves that the new state of things was not one which they could tolerate—was one, indeed, which they could not, consistently with a proper sense of their duty towards their country, allow to continue; and so they at once applied to Parliament—that is, to themselves under another name—to have it brought to an end by enacting that both the payment and receipt of higher than the customary wages should henceforth be illegal. To them, no doubt, this expedient seemed both the quickest and the simplest; in reality it was far otherwise, for it marks the beginning of the long quarrel between the capitalist and the wage-earner, which in one way or another has ever since continued to exist.

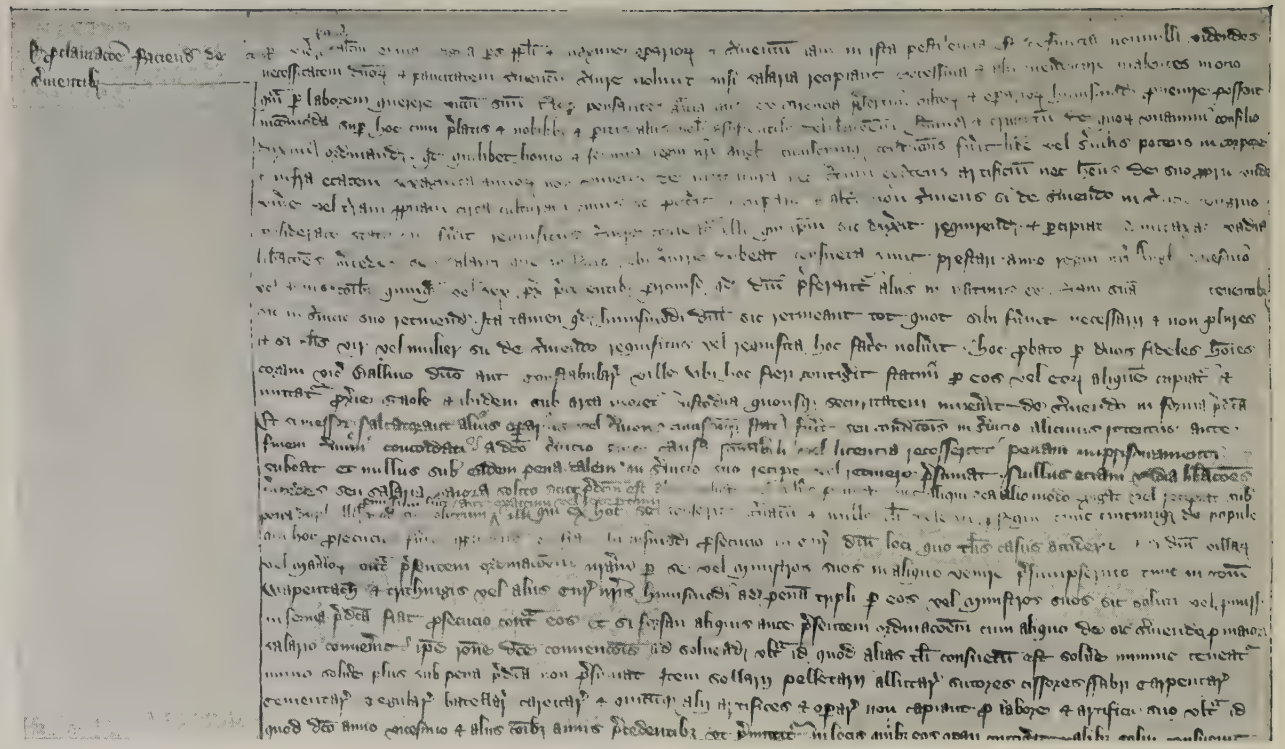
The Statute of Labourers.

The most celebrated of the legislative efforts made by the landowners in the direction of fixing wages upon what they considered to be a fair basis is that known as the Statute of Labourers, which was passed upon the first reassembling of Parliament after the plague, in 1351; but in reality this enactment was only a second edition of an ordinance which had been drawn up by the king as early as June 18th, 1349, when the plague had only just reached its height, and issued in the form of a proclamation so as to provide a summary remedy for the grievances under which many of his subjects were already at that early date beginning to suffer. These, indeed, are well set out in the preamble, which runs: "Because a great part of the people, and especially of Workmen and Servants, late died of the pestilence, many, seeing the necessity of Masters and great scarcity of Servants, will not serve unless they may receive excessive wages, and some are rather willing to beg in idleness than by labour to get their living;" while the eight chapters which follow are said to have been ordained in consideration of "the discommodity which of the lack especially of Ploughmen and such labourers may hereafter come." Chief among the remedies consequently provided were the following: That every man or woman, bond or free, able in body and within the age of threescore years, not having his own whereof he might live, nor land of his own about which he might occupy himself, and not serving any other, should be bound to serve the employer who should require him to do so, provided that the

lords of any bondman or landservant should be preferred before others for his services. That such servants should take only the wages which were accustomed to be given in the places where they ought to serve in the twentieth year of the king's reign, that is in 1347, or the year before the plague; and that anyone who should neglect so to serve should be committed to gaol until he found a security. That any reaper, mower, or other workman, who should leave his service, should be imprisoned, and that none, under the like pain, should receive or retain him. That any workman demanding or receiving more than the accustomed wages should be prosecuted in the court of the manor where he was serving, and pay double as a penalty; while any lord promising to give such wages should be fined treble. That contracts for such wages should be unenforceable; and finally, that no one should give anything, even under colour of alms, to valiant beggars, upon pain of imprisonment.

It would appear from the sweeping way in which the above provisions follow one another, that the authors of the ordinance were not much troubled with doubts as to the possibility of effecting what they wanted; but if so, they were soon undeceived. For already in the preamble to the statute of 1351 there is a confession that "it is given the king to understand that the said servants have no regard of the said ordinance, but to their ease and singular covetise[1] do withdraw themselves, unless they have livery and wages to the double or treble of what they were wont to take, to the great damage of the great men." The candour of this last phrase is certainly remarkable; but, nevertheless, there is no necessity for us to believe, as some have done, that the landlords were consciously unjust in trying to prevent the labourers from succeeding in their demands, or acted otherwise than under the honest belief that the introduction of a system of competitive wages, till then unknown in the country, would be merely a source of mischief. For it is not as if they tyrannously attempted to keep down wages at a time when the cost of living and prices generally were rising, without making any effort to allow for such a disturbing influence. On the contrary, they seem to have been fully aware that

[1] *I.e.* for their individual greed.]



ORDINANCE PREPARATORY TO THE STATUTE OF LABOURERS.
(*Record Office.*)

Regulation of Prices.

such a course would have been oppressive. For both in the ordinance and the statute they inserted clauses which were also intended to regulate prices. For instance, in the ordinance we read that "butchers, fishmongers, regraters,[1] hostelers, brewers, bakers, pulters,[2] and all other sellers of all manner of victuals, shall be bound to sell the same victual for a reasonable price, so that the same sellers have moderate gains and not excessive; and that if any be convicted of selling in any other manner, he shall pay the double of the same that he so received to the party damnified." In the statute they even went further, and regulated the prices of boots and shoes. In fact, what ought to be criticised in this legislation is not its want of justice, nor even its bad policy, but its obvious futility. To the impartial man of that day it no doubt seemed fair, and may well have seemed advantageous, but it is hard to believe that it ever had the least chance of succeeding. For even the landlords themselves, though they did not perceive it, must have been at heart its opponents, as they would have been the very first to object to a reduction being made in the prices they obtained for the products of their estates; and without this as a preliminary no permanent change could be expected, as without it the old rate of wages was no longer reasonable. It was the failure of Parliament to see this that had such bad results, and in the course of the next few years caused a widespread social discontent to be added to the other misfortunes which had overtaken the country. Instead of altering their policy and looking out for modes of relieving the distress when they found that neither prices nor wages would diminish in obedience to their desires, the majority of landowners only urged upon the king the advisability of further increasing the severity of the Statute of Labourers. The labourers again became tied to the soil, and were forbidden to travel without letters of authorisation. Runaway labourers were ordered to be outlawed, and branded with an "F" for their falsity. Towns which harboured them were to be fined ten pounds. Even the slightest infraction of the law was no longer to be punished with a fine, but imprisonment without the option of bail was to be inflicted in every case. To enforce these laws universally was of course

Failure of the Statute.

[1 Sellers of small quantities by retail.] [2 Poulterers.]

impossible, but in many instances the landlords did not flinch from the attempt, while Parliament kept constantly encouraging them and egging them on by repeatedly re-enacting the laws, and adding to the penalties and to the coercive powers of the justices. Every recurrence of the plague, in fact, and every outbreak of dearth or murrain, by renewing the disorganisation of labour, seems to have stirred up the Legislature to fresh activity, whereas by rights these calamities should have shown the Commons that they were running their heads against a brick wall, and that no amount of obstinacy on their side was ever likely to triumph over a stubbornness which in their opponents was born of necessity, and which, sooner than capitulate, would have recourse to rebellion if only sufficiently provoked.

A. L. SMITH. The Political Changes.

The years of truce witnessed some important legislation besides the Statute of Labourers. In the three successive years, 1351, 1352, 1353, were passed the Statutes of Provisors, of Treason, and of Præmunire. Each of these was a vindication of national rights as against royal prerogative. Since the older Anglo-Saxon days when a king's life, like a subject's, could be atoned for by a money payment, there had come a great change in men's ideas about royalty. The Church rites of coronation sanctified "the Lord's anointed"; the feudal theory exalted the suzerain in theory as much as it threatened to reduce him practically to impotence; the lawyers made almost a mystical creature of the king that never dies and can do no wrong, and is the fountain of justice and of honour.

The Statute of Treason.

Treason became a crime for which mere death was too merciful a punishment, and a crime which seemed likely to become, as it had been in Rome under the dark shadow of Cæsarian tyranny, the complement of every other accusation. Now, at the prayer of the people, high treason was defined to consist in compassing the death or disgrace of any of the royal family, counterfeiting the king's seal or coinage, or slaying the great ministers in the exercise of their duty. Till the Yorkist and Tudor laws developed the iniquitous subtlety of "constructive treasons," the Act of 1352 remained a bulwark of the subject's liberties, and is the basis of the law as it now

The Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire.

stands. The two Statutes (p. 216 *seq.*) of Provisors and Præmunire dealt with the relation of England to the Papacy. Ever since the defeat of King John in the struggle over the election, in 1206, to the See of Canterbury, the Papacy had been steadily drawing to itself the appointments to English benefices and prelacies. It is strange at first sight to see this usurpation as marked under the strong rule of Edward I. as under the weak rule of Henry III. and Edward II. But the fact was, it was an irresistible temptation to the kings to make collusive arrangements with the Popes for division of the spoils between the Crown and the Papacy. The Pope's interest pointed the same way. "Were the King of England to petition for an ass to be made bishop, we must not refuse him," is a saying attributed to Clement VI. The connivance went on at the expense of the English nation, and still more of the English Church, now filled with "provisors," or persons whom the Pope had intruded into ecclesiastical posts (p. 217). Such men were often foreigners or absentees. It was this system at which the statute of 1351 (p. 217) struck a bold blow. But the very enactment of the first Præmunire Statute[1] (of 1353) proves the failure of the earlier act which it aimed at repeating in a more stringent form, while also forbidding, under pain of forfeiture, the appeals to "any jurisdiction outside the realm." In vain were the acts confirmed, amended, and enlarged, in 1365, 1377, 1390, and 1393. Their repetitions only register their failure. All that was finally effected was to put in the hands of the Crown the weapon of Præmunire, by which the Tudor kings were enabled to beat down the independence of the English Church, and to monopolise the plunder which hitherto had to be shared with the Popes.

The Statute of the Staple.

One other statute, the Statute of the Staple, 1353, also attests the popular influence in legislation. It ordered that wool and hides, tin and lead, should be sold only at certain staple towns, some in England and Wales, some in Ireland, with Calais and Middelburg (p. 340). This was partly to facilitate the levy of customs, partly to secure that inspection of the quality of the articles sold, which did not seem to the medieval mind inconsistent with the trader's own interests.

[1 From the opening words of the writ, "Præmunire facias ("Cause to be forewarned," præmoneri), issued in proceedings under the statute.]

But partly, no doubt, it was an assertion of the rights of the Commons in Parliament to control indirect taxation, as their control over direct taxation had been asserted in 1340. To this end it was necessary to step in between the king and the assemblies of merchants, which were so ready, in return for monopoly, to allow his officers to raise the wool custom from the ancient rate of 10s. a sack to that of 30s. or 40s., or even more. If this was to go on, the Commons' "power of the purse" would be an empty phrase. Hence came a battle over this point, decided, in 1362, by the enunciation of the

SEAL OF EDWARD II. FOR CUSTOMS ON WOOL AND HIDES.

principle that no charge should be set on wool but by Parliament. Thus a great danger passed over; for at one time it had seemed that there would be a fourth Estate, an Estate of merchants.

The Burden of Taxation.

Amongst other forms of indirect taxation, which under the firm and persistent remonstrances of the Commons were abandoned, at least in principle, were included, first loans (and when a magnificent but impecunious king was the beggar, an abbey or a borough found it hard to refuse); secondly, "commissions of array"—these a statute of 1352 stigmatised as illegal if taken without consent of Parliament, but when a French fleet or Scottish army was descending on the land, the king would not be patient of claims that the militia should serve only in its own county or at the king's wages; thirdly, there was purveyance, the royal right of taking

goods and means of conveyance at a low price. The right itself was burdensome enough, but the vast abuse of it made it intolerable. "They seize your cattle and pay with a stick of wood" (a tally). "At the king's approach, thanks to this accursed prerogative, there is general consternation; men fly to hide their fowls and eggs; I myself shudder for the people's sake" (it is Archbishop Islip who thus expresses himself). This, too, was somewhat alleviated after the statute against it in 1362. But all these extortions and all this struggle over various forms of taxation were the logical consequence of the defective fiscal theory of the age. Since the minority of Henry III. the cry had been more and more heard, "Let the king live of his own." In the closing years of Edward III. it was the watchword of the reforming party. It meant that for ordinary years the ordinary revenue, about £65,000 a year, should suffice. If there arose an extraordinary requirement, if a war called for an extra grant, the king must come to Parliament for it; it was not "his own" to take at will, but the nation's, to grant at discretion. This was neat and plausible, but it had two fatal flaws in it. The ordinary revenue did not suffice for ordinary years; and in the extraordinary years Parliament would never pay the whole war-bill, but would "aid" the king with some inadequate contribution. Hence in all years, ordinary or not, deficits accrue, the king recurs to purveyance. He promises to drop the abuses; but promises what he will not, and indeed cannot, perform. It was well that the nation should learn the cost of war and glory; it was well that it should not win too easily its victory over the prerogative; it was well that the pressing needs of taxation should summon the third Estate to take the lead of the other two, and that the battle of English liberty should continue to be fought on the broad simple ground of bargain between king and people. In all this lies the constitutional influence of taxation in the fourteenth century; it is regulative, not formative as hitherto.

New Forms of Taxation.

In the fourteenth century the system also and method of taxation underwent a complete revolution. Under Henry II. it had been a system of taxation by classes; the feudal class paid scutage; the freeholders hidage, or, later, carucage; the villein class, which in theory included the boroughs, paid

tallage (Vol. I., p. 672). After 1188, tenths from the clergy were added. But there were grave dangers in this severance of classes; and Edward I. made taxation like everything else, national and uniform. The feudal aids died out, and scutage and carucage with them. These were all land taxes; and the wealth of the country no longer consisted mainly in its lands. Tallage, again, though not strictly illegal after 1297, was felt to be both wasteful and oppressive, and was never taken after 1322. In their place came in the system of "tenths and fifteenths" levied on income and chattels, and the increased Customs fixed at 2s. the tun of wine, and 6d. in the £ on other goods. This "tunnage and poundage" with the ordinary wool Custom of 10s. on the sack, became an annual grant, and produced about two-fifths of the ordinary revenue. The total amount which could be raised with extra taxation in a year of great stress would be as much as £180,000.

Poitiers and the Sequel.

In 1355 the French war broke out again, though in 1354, when asked if they would accept a lasting peace, the Commons had shouted "unitedly and all together, 'Yes, Yes.'" The startling victory of Poitiers led to the Peace of Bretigny in 1360, which assigned to England more than half the provinces of France. But the appalling ravages of the Free Companies[1] in France had created in that country a new spirit of union and patriotism. The Black Prince had wasted his resources and ruined his health in the futile Spanish expedition, which replaced Pedro the Cruel for a while on the throne of Castile. In 1373 the Prince came home a broken man, his fair fame stained by the massacre of Limoges, and the fleet coming to his aid defeated by the Spaniards at Rochelle in 1372. The mocking phantom of English dominion had already faded away. Little was left but Bordeaux and Calais. Edward III. himself had already turned aside to other objects. By marrying four sons to the heiresses of the great English families, he had initiated a new domestic policy for the Crown. Like so much that this selfish ruler did, it made a splendid show and lasted his time, but proved the ruin of his posterity. For with the great fiefs he brought into the royal house their unquenchable feuds; and to Edward III.'s policy must be traced back

Storm Signs at Home.

[1 Bodies of disbanded soldiers—of both nations, but popularly regarded as English—who had lived by brigandage during the years of truce.]

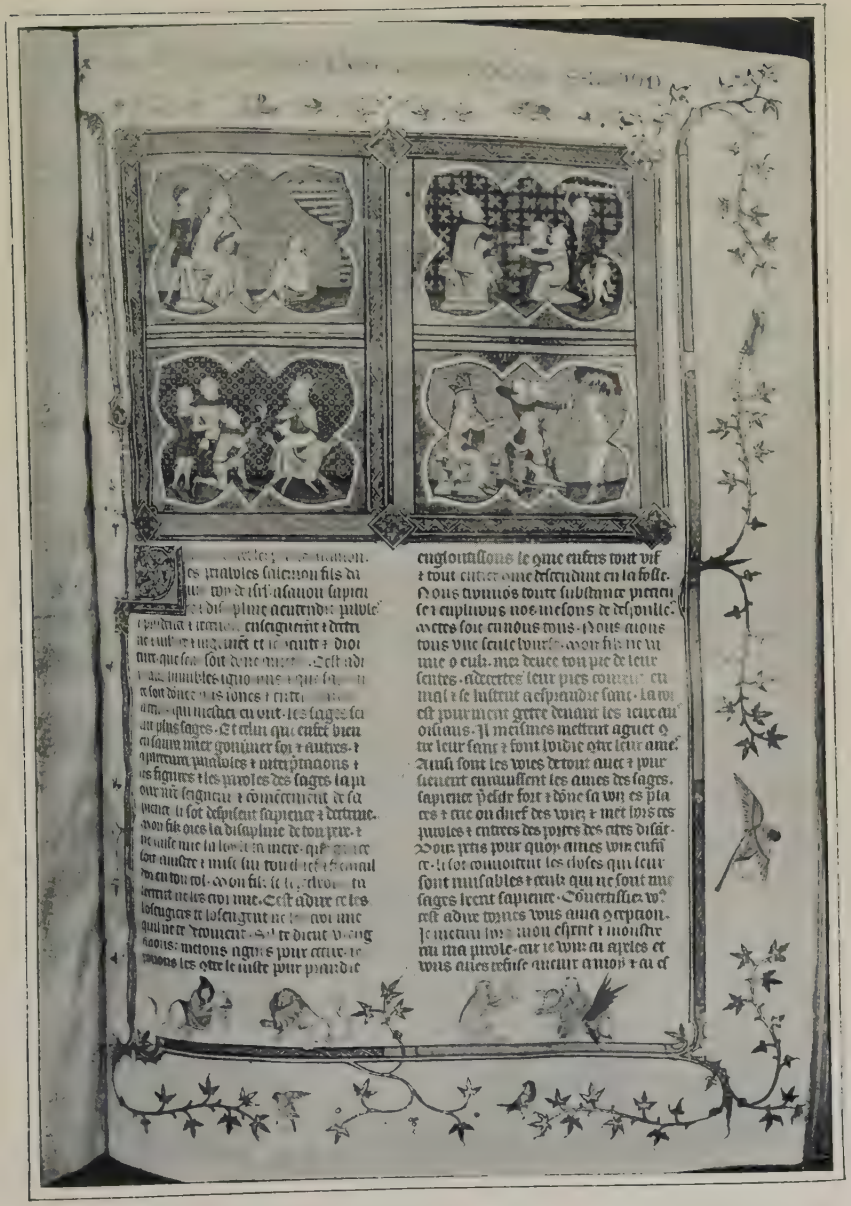
the full disastrousness of the Wars of the Roses. His later reign was clouded by strife and omens of coming storm. His Queen, Philippa, died in 1369; and henceforth his mistress, Alice Perrers, ruled almost openly at court. The courtiers, attacked the great churchmen, like William of Wykeham, and for a time drove them from office. Above all, the Good Parliament of 1376, besides impeaching the chief courtiers, banishing Alice Perrers, and giving voice to the popular hatred and suspicion against John of Gaunt, brought in what might be called "the Grand Remonstrance" of the reign, a list of 140 petitions which throw a lurid light on the administration. The old feudal abuses have, it is true, ceased to be formidable; but the old grievances of Magna Charta, of the Mad Parliament in 1258, of the Ordinances in 1311, remain unredressed. New perils have appeared in the sheriffs' power of packing a Parliament, and in the general animosity expressed against the Church for its ill-used wealth, its corrupt tribunals, and its foreign tendencies, and against the Papacy, from which already in 1366 there had been a national revolt, the whole Parliament repudiating John's act of homage and the annual tribute of a thousand marks.

WIFE AND DAUGHTER OF EDWARD III.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

EDWARD III. AND ST. GEORGE.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

Constitutional Changes.

A new political weapon, and one which was to prove two-edged, has been invented, in impeachment. A new constitutional device for solving the great problem of all government, the control of the executive by the legislative, has been discovered, when the Commons appoint ten lords of the reforming party to "enforce" the royal council; the first of a long series of steps destined to lead to cabinet government.



PAGE OF A BIBLE BELONGING TO KING JOHN OF FRANCE.
(Captured at Poitiers: MS. Roy. 19 D. ii.)

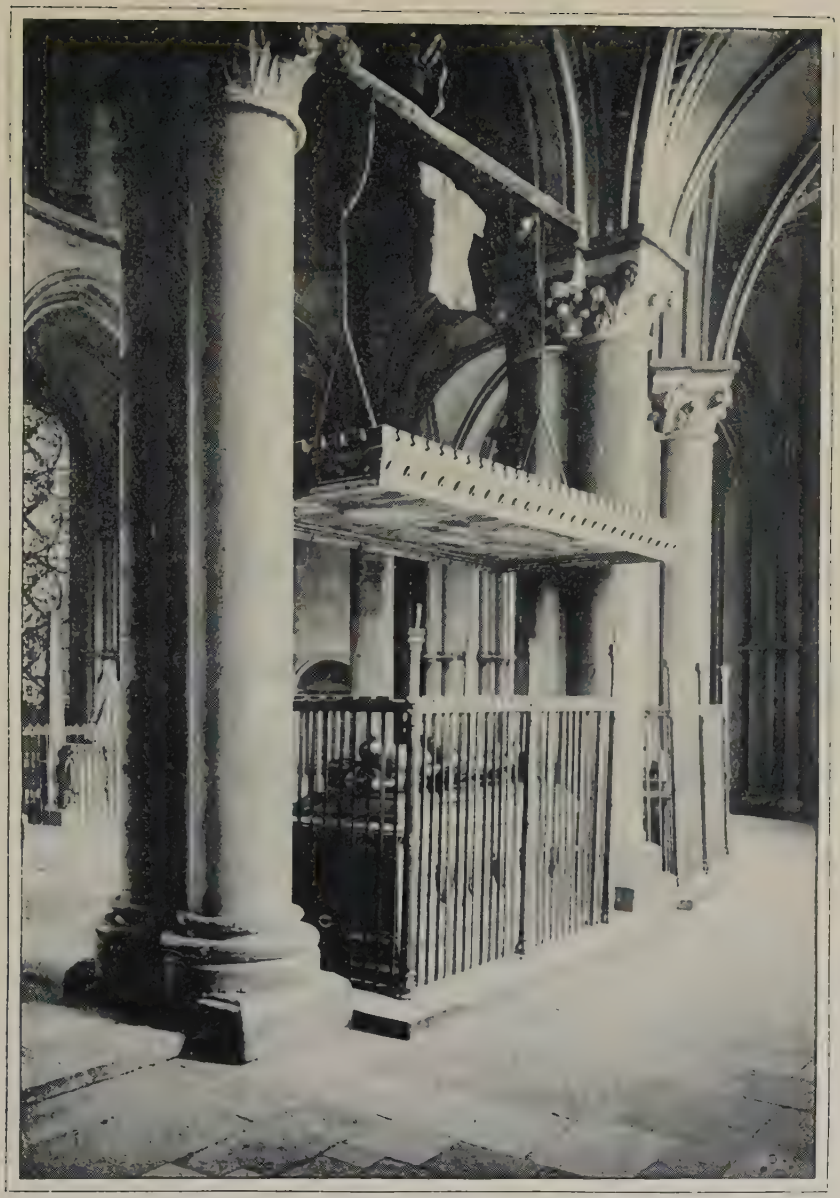
Above all, a new force has at last appeared, to take the leadership out of baronial hands. For when John of Gaunt insolently reversed the Parliament's measures as soon as it was dissolved, and even packed a new and servile Parliament in the next year, and brought back the timid lords to their wonted time-serving, the death of Edward III., June 21, 1377, following closely on that of the Black Prince, introduced a minority, a political condition which always leads to a compromise. John of Gaunt was no longer supreme. The Commons in the Parliament of October, 1377, chose again the old Speaker, and returned triumphantly to their old constitutional positions.

The Reign of Richard II.: Rise of the Commons,

The nation has at last learnt to do without the baronage as constitutional leaders. Henceforth the political extinction of the baronage is only a question of time and opportunity. By thus securing their right to submit royal ministers to a strict account, the Commons had got a hold upon the administration. Their share in legislation had been similarly advancing throughout the century that had elapsed since they had been convoked by Edward I. for little more than assent to taxation and presenting of petitions. By a long struggle with his shifty grandson they had secured that their petitions should have an answer, that the answers should not be merely oral but formally recorded and sealed, and that the answer to each petition should be endorsed on the back thereof. Only one more step was required to make the petition into a Bill, and to win for them the initiative in legislation.

and of the Residuum.

The victories of the Commons, in the Parliamentary sense, were, after all, the victories only of an aristocratic class. Below the small group of the county freeholders and the burgesses in towns came the great mass of the unrepresented, the villeins and the unprivileged artisans. When those classes began for the first time to stir and to find expression for themselves—when in the Peasant Revolt, and the Lollard movement, and the poem of "Piers Plowman" they began to make themselves heard, it must have seemed a portent; as Roman augurs fabled before the Punic War, *bos locutus est*. As early as 1366 (p. 222) Wycliffe had published his book on "The Lordship of God," an attack on the current ecclesiastical theory of the subordination of State to Church. He next appears condemning the papal usurpations of English benefices. Then he joined with



TOMB OF THE BLACK PRINCE, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

John of Gaunt—strange alliance of a religious enthusiast with a corrupt courtier—to attack the temporal position and wealth of churchmen, and was cited before Courtenay, Bishop of London. The trial was broken up by an outbreak of the Londoners against John of Gaunt. Another trial in 1388 was interrupted by another popular riot against the Papal Bull. From this date Wycliffe, hitherto a reformer, became a revolutionary. He advanced to the very key of the Church position in denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation. He inveighed unsparingly against the standing army of the Church, the monks and the friars. He appealed from the churchmen to the people, and turned from Latin treatises to brief tracts in English. By these and his English version of the Vulgate Bible, and by his order of "poor priests," or travelling preachers (p. 230), he brought the most fundamental problems of medieval thought down to the arena of popular discussion. He is the first of the roll of English prose writers; and his prose (p. 306) has already the best characteristics of English writing—brevity, force, and trenchant humour.

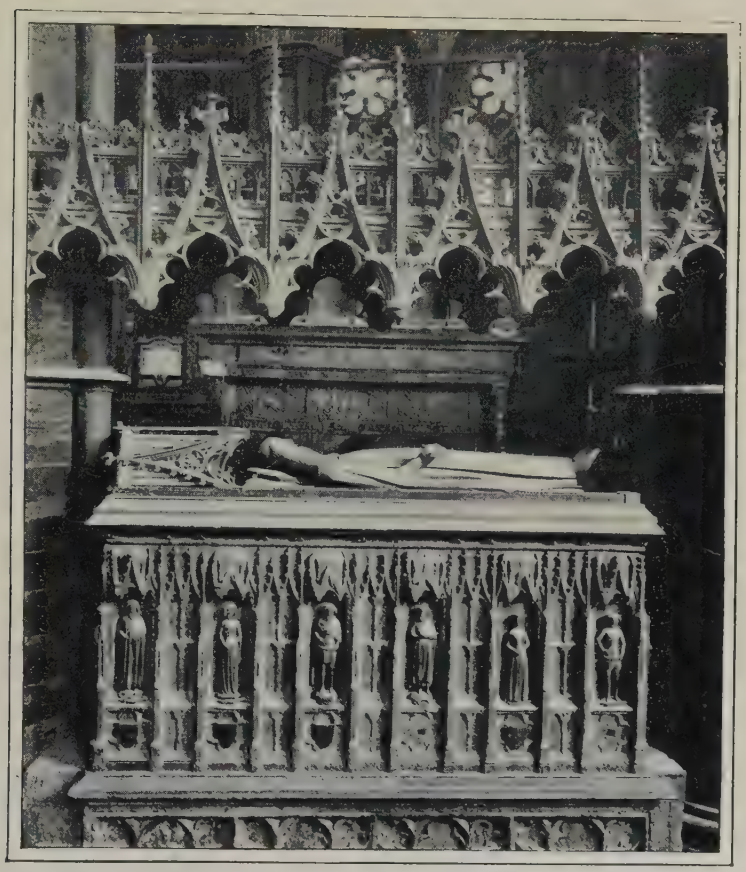
The Lollards.

In 1384 he died. His followers, the Lollards, were at the height of their influence about 1394. The petition they then presented to Parliament condemns not only many Church doctrines and rites, but also war and capital punishment, and trades in luxuries. Wycliffe's successors, his guiding hand removed, had allowed the movement to drift into wild socialism, and it soon became discredited. About 1390 every other man you met was a Lollard, according to Walsingham. But in 1401 Parliament was willing to pass the Act which provided for the burning of heretics. Wycliffe has sometimes been held responsible for the great rising of 1381, called the Peasant Revolt. But there are other causes quite sufficient to account for this.

The Peasant Revolt.

It is sufficient to bear in mind the great strain resulting from the sudden and enormous rise in wages and prices consequent on the Black Death on the one hand, and the increasing stringency of the Statutes of Labourers which strove to force back this irresistible rise on the other hand. As in all revolutions, many other influences co-operated. The disorganising and demoralising influence of the long war, the grievances of townsmen against their feudal lords, and of craftsmen against oppressive guilds, the circulation of doctrines such as those

attributed to John Ball, and of watchwords borrowed from "Piers Plowman," must all be taken into account. In Kent, where, according to legal theory, there was no villeinage, the rising was political rather than social. It found its pretext in



TOMB OF EDWARD III., WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

the hated novelty of poll-taxes; but the poll-tax of 1381 (p. 330) must be regarded rather as the signal than the motive cause of the rising. The remarkable features about it are its almost universal range from Kent to Lancashire, from Norfolk to Devon; its extraordinary evidence of organisation and concert; the panic of the well-to-do classes, and the

precocious wisdom and courage of the young king. When Walworth, the mayor of London, struck down Wat Tyler at Smithfield, Richard II., a boy of fifteen, stepped forward to cry, "I will be your leader," and induced them to return home by charters of manumission, such as the day before at Mile End he had promised to the villeins of the eastern counties. These charters, within three weeks, his advisers made him annul; and Parliament concurring in this treachery, made political capital out of the revolt by attributing it to administrative abuses, to taxation and purveyance, and official embezzlements. But one, at least, of its effects survived. It undoubtedly accelerated the transformation of villeinage into copyhold tenure, and of bailiff farming into a leasehold system (p. 334).

The King's Advisers.

The chief personage about the court since the death of Edward III. had been John of Gaunt; but 1381 had shown the detestation felt for him throughout the land. He betook himself in 1386 to Gascony, for another futile attempt to make good his right to the throne of Castile. To counterbalance the control exercised by his uncles, Richard II. had relied on Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. When the former was created Duke of Ireland, a vehement attack was made on the two favourites by both Houses of Parliament. The king's defiant answer that he would not at their will dismiss a single varlet from his kitchen was met by a significant reminder of the fate of Edward II. This cowed him: he bowed to the storm. Suffolk was impeached and dismissed. The king was put under a council to hold the regency for a year. But as soon as Parliament was dissolved he showed a bold front. He made a progress through the country to collect adherents; he appealed to the sheriffs to pack the next Parliament; and he got from the judges a pronouncement that the commission was unlawful, and made to himself a party in London. But "London was mutable as a reed;" the sheriffs told him that the commonalty were against him; Vere's small army was defeated at Radcot Bridge; and a formal "appeal" of treason was made against the king's advisers by five great lords. These "lords appellant" were Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, the king's youngest uncle; Henry of Derby, son of John of Gaunt; Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham; Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; and the Earl of Arundel. Under their influence the Merciless

RICHARD II. PRESENTED TO THE VIRGIN: DIPTYCH AT WILTON HOUSE.
(By permission of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Pembroke)

Richard assumes Authority.

Parliament met in February, 1388, and continued for four months at the work which earned it its title. A clean sweep was made of the king's friends. For nearly a year Richard bore the yoke without a sign; but on May 3, 1389, he entered the Council, announced that he was of age enough to govern (he was now twenty-three), and dismissed the "Appellants." But satisfied with the complete success of this sudden stroke, he soon recalled them; and a halcyon period set in: eight years of quiet popular and constitutional government. It was even an interval of peace with France, for the truce made in 1389 was cemented in 1396 by the king's marriage to a French princess. It was also occupied by important legislation: the old statutes against Provisors and against Mortmain were amended, and new Acts passed against "livery and maintenance."[1] John of Gaunt now returned from Gascony, acted the part which he holds in Shakespeare's play, and laboured to keep peace in the royal family. Richard himself, with that singular adaptability of character which Shakespeare has drawn so subtly, was indulging the other side of his nature, his taste for music and books, art and pageantry.

Growth of Absolute Monarchy.

But beneath the surface critical changes were going on. The arrogance of Gloucester grew yearly more intolerable; the death of the popular Queen Anne, in 1394, and the legitimation of the Beauforts, children of John of Gaunt by a mistress, broke up the royal family union. The king had completely won over two of the appellants, Henry and Nottingham, and had formed as a counterpoise the group of royalist nobles (the Hollands, Montacute, Scrope, etc.). An accident exploded the mine. A petition appeared from Parliament in 1396 attacking the administration of the household. The king indignantly demanded the author, whose name was Haxey; the Commons, intimidated and apologetic, gave him up. Elated by this victory, and hearing that the three hostile appellant lords—Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick—had met at Arundel to concert their plans, the king struck his blow suddenly, and within three months Arundel had suffered a traitor's death, Gloucester was found dead at Calais, Warwick was banished. The Parliament reversed all the Acts of the Merciless Parliament of 1388; it granted the king the wool subsidy for his

[1] *See* the section on Warfare, Chap. VII.]

life, and it completed his now despotic power by delegating its own authority to a committee of Lords and Commons. The English monarchy had suddenly become an absolute monarchy. It was impossible that such a reversal of the work of three centuries should be permanent. To complete his triumph, Richard had seized the opportunity of a quarrel between the two last of the appellants—Henry of Derby and Mowbray of Nottingham—who had lately been created Dukes of Hereford and of Norfolk respectively. There was to be a public duel

RADCOT BRIDGE.

between them; it had just begun when the king interposed and banished both. On John of Gaunt's death Richard seized the Lancaster estates; Henry returned to claim his inheritance; the king was absent in Ireland. Henry had long been the most popular man in England, and doubtless had an understanding with the great nobles. All deserted to his side, and Richard on his return found all was hopeless, and abdicated September 29, 1399. The contemporary chronicler, the monk of Evesham, sees in Richard's fall the moral that 'he who smites with the sword shall perish by the sword." Like Rehoboam, he had despised the counsel of old men and followed the young to do evil. Henry stood forth in Parliament to assert his right to the vacant throne as "descended in the

Abdication of Richard II.

right line from Henry III.," and as "sent by God to recover his right when the realm was in point to be undone for default of governance." Thus fell the medieval form of monarchy and its assertion of absolutism, not to be heard again till national needs recalled it to a temporary life under the Tudors, and the Stuarts were misled into a factitious and fatal attempt to revive it, not only in practice, but in the form of a theory as offensive as that of Richard II. He had said that the laws were in his own mouth and breast, but his deposition closed the long struggle between the constitution set up by Edward I. and the older idea of royal prerogative. Before the next spring Richard was dead: but Pomfret Castle has kept its secret well, and the manner of his death is still unknown.

R. L. POOLE. Wycliffe and his Work.

THE removal of the Papacy to Avignon in the beginning of the fourteenth century was attended by serious consequences affecting both the material resources and the public prestige of the Holy See. Avignon lay just without the French border, and the Popes of the "Captivity" (as this term of absence from Rome is called) were all Frenchmen. Some, indeed, might be, as the result of King Edward III.'s conquests, English subjects; but their attachment, as their language, was not the less French. The Papacy became the steady ally of France, and lost to a great extent its proud position of standing as a free and absolute power above all the courts of secular kingdoms. In England, especially after its armies had overrun and humbled France, a French Pope, identified altogether with French interests, could not be regarded with the same devotion as of old; and here, in the country which had been most loyal to the Holy See, the seeds of dissatisfaction grew silently into ill-will, which from time to time broke forth into outspoken complaint, and even into declared opposition. For England was the harvest-field from which the Papacy reaped its greatest profits. Now that the Pope was no longer resident in Italy, the income due from his possessions there was levied with greater difficulty and rapidly shrank in amount. He was more and more dependent on gifts and exactions from the other lands of his obedience. France, however, by the

England and the Papacy.

MEETING OF HENRY OF LANCASTER AND RICHARD II.

DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II. (MS. Harl. 1319).

second half of the fourteenth century was exhausted by warfare, Germany had little to spare, and the chief weight of the burthen fell upon England, which had to disburse to the Papal treasury sums largely exceeding its proportional due, were we to reckon only by population, as well as a yearly tribute of one thousand marks (partly levied in Ireland) inherited from the recklessness of King John.

Nor did the country suffer from this direct taxation only, harassing as it was. Dispensations and other privileges were constantly required, and they could only be obtained by those who were willing to pay the charges imposed according to a fixed tariff regulating minutely the cost of each; and appeals to the Papal court not merely involved heavy expense, but they were open to a further objection on the part of English statesmen, since they appeared to them as a disparagement of the king's right of jurisdiction. It was not disputed that certain causes might properly be removed to the Pope's cognisance; the complaint was that suits were brought before him the judgment in which might extend to issues properly, it was held, amenable to the civil authority alone. But so much did the spheres of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction overlap, that it was hard to lay down a rule which should exclude the latter class of cases and leave only the right of appeal in those of which the legality was unassailed. For example, in 1358, the Bishop of Ely brought an appeal before the Pope, the sentence in which carried with it the excommunication of some members of the King's Council; but no sooner had the Papal commissioners reached England than they were imprisoned, tried before the judges, and at last put to death. This was a case which might be claimed on either side. And although appeals of a serious character were less numerous than they had been under King Henry III., they were still frequent enough, and often irritating enough —since the Papacy was in close alliance with the French monarchy—to produce constant friction. Hence in 1353 the ordinance of Praemunire (p. 200) was passed "against annullers of judgment in the king's courts" which forbade the prosecution in foreign courts of suits cognisable by the law of England. Thirteen years later a statute was passed which applied the prohibition by name to the Papal court;

and, finally, in 1393 the great statute of Praemunire subjected all persons bringing Bulls or other instruments from Rome to the penalty of forfeiture. The law was highly obnoxious to the Curia, but the Pope was not in a position to enforce its withdrawal. His protests were in vain, and appeals became less numerous. Still the Pope's power of dispensation covered a good many of the causes about which appeals arose; and for the rest, it became usual for him to send judges "delegate" to act as his representatives in England, so that the foreign jurisdiction was not altogether excluded, though it was now exercised on English soil.

The system which perhaps caused more discontent than anything else in the minds of those who wished for the efficient government of the English Church, was that which had come into practice with regard to the bestowal of preferments in it. The Pope was accustomed to make *provision* for the next presentation to a benefice during the lifetime of the incumbent; or he would nominally, for special reasons, *reserve* to himself the right of appointment to a vacant post. He had also the unquestioned prerogative of nominating to bishoprics vacated by translation; and his policy was to translate bishops as often as possible, and so to obtain not only the fees and the firstfruits (or first year's income) of the bishop who was translated, but also those of the prelate who was appointed in his room. The grievance was not merely that the interests of the see or other benefice were likely to be neglected, but also that foreigners were frequently nominated, who were contented with the enjoyment of its revenues without being at the pains even of visiting England. In 1351 the Statute of Provisors prohibited the acceptance of Papal letters of provision, and handed over the patronage of benefices so dealt with to the king. But the law was constantly evaded, and all attempts at setting matters on a more satisfactory footing failed of any real success.

It is necessary to bear these facts in mind in order to understand how it was possible for a movement such as that set on foot by Wycliffe to attain even a transitory success. The Papacy, it was considered, was becoming more and more of a temporal institution, whose action might be criticised like the action of ordinary temporal powers, and was at this time

judged with the greater jealousy on account of its association with the politics of France. The fourteenth century, moreover, witnessed a remarkable growth of national sentiment in the western States of Europe. The German Electors in 1338 asserted their right to choose a king whose title should need no confirmation by the Pope; and in the same year when two cardinals were sent into England, obviously in the French interest, to bring about a peace between England and France, the Archbishop of Canterbury himself denounced them from the pulpit. Each nation was resolved to manage its own concerns without interference from without, and the affairs also of the Church in each country were looked upon in the same light. The English Church had always claimed for itself a distinct existence, and it was natural that the centrifugal tendency should be hastened by the present conditions of the Papacy. Nor is it to be forgotten in this connection that the reign of Edward III. was marked by an increased use of the English language in preaching and for the purposes of devotion; and the more religion presented itself to plain people in an English guise, the more would the Latin ritual of the Church appear as a foreign importation. Thus a national patriotic sentiment might combine with political considerations and with a religious motive in pleading the desirability of resistance to the French dictation and the secular tendencies of Avignon. Of this complex of opinion Wycliffe was the spokesman. The thoughts which were in others' minds, and the views which descended to him by literary tradition, found their expression in his highly trained Latin argument, or his nervous English invective; and if the substance of his exposition is largely borrowed, the form is still mainly his own. He put what was vague and undefined into a tangible shape, and drew up the case against Rome in clear propositions which could be taken up and fought for by his disciples.

Rome and Nationalism.

Wycliffe.

John Wycliffe was a Yorkshireman, and doubtless a member of the family which for centuries occupied the manor of Wycliffe-on-Tees. Born about 1320, he made his way to the College which had been founded at Oxford half a century before his birth by his neighbours, the Balliols of Barnard Castle, and in 1360–1361 held the office of Master of that College. He then accepted a living in Lincolnshire, which in

THE PAPAL PALACE, AVIGNON.

1368 he exchanged for one in Buckinghamshire, within an easier
At Oxford. distance of Oxford. He appears, indeed, to have been frequently, if not usually, resident in the University from 1363 onwards, and was able by this means to satisfy the conditions required for the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity. He took the higher degree sometime before the end of 1373. It is generally believed, also—though the fact is by no means certain—that he is the same person with the John Wycliffe who was made Warden of Canterbury Hall by Archbishop Islip in 1365. This hall had been recently founded by the archbishop for a mixed body of monks and secular clergymen; but the association of these discordant elements proved unsatisfactory, and Islip, when he appointed Wycliffe, removed the monks and adapted the hall to the normal academic pattern. The next archbishop, Langham, who was himself a Benedictine monk, recognised the injury done to the interests of his Order, and in turn deposed Wycliffe and his Secular colleagues. An appeal to Rome followed, but the representative of the Seculars, for some unknown reason, did not put in an appearance, and judgment naturally went against them. By the Papal decision of 1370, which was confirmed by the king in 1372, Canterbury Hall was left exclusively monastic. Considering that the hall had been originally designed in part expressly for the benefit of the monks of Canterbury, and that the plan of a mixed foundation had notably failed, the decision probably was the fairest one possible in the circumstances; but it is not to be denied that the Seculars had a grievance, and that this grievance may have directed Wycliffe's attention more distinctly to the abuses which he deemed to exist in the Roman Church. This latter inference, however, is not to be pressed too decidedly, since the identity of the warden with the reformer remains unproved and there were certainly two John Wycliffes living at the time.

Wycliffe's academical position stood high. He had not only amassed solid attainments in the school-learning of his day—in which, indeed, he was reputed to be unsurpassed—but he also possessed the gift of teaching and of drawing round him a band of disciples, so that, however far he separated himself from the authorised standard of theological correctness, he enjoyed an unvarying personal popularity at

Oxford, where his following held its ground and called for energetic measures of repression at a time when his doctrines hardly survived in other parts of England. It has been usually supposed that the position he had arrived at with respect to the Papal power was already notorious in 1366; for in this year, when Parliament repudiated the payment of the yearly tribute to the Pope, it was he who was called upon to draw up a statement of the arguments in support of that action. Recent criticism has, however, made it nearly certain that this took place on a later occasion, when the demand was renewed in 1374. The statement, from which we gather that Wycliffe was one of the doctors of theology summoned to Parliament, is of special interest from the light it throws on the course of his opinions on the great question of the relations of the ecclesiastical and civil powers.

In Public Life.

He puts his statement to a large extent in the form of a report of seven speeches made by seven lords in the Council when the discussion as to the tribute was raised. It is possible that the arguments brought forward at such a council may serve as the basis of Wycliffe's paper; but it cannot be seriously doubted that the paper itself—its plan, arrangement and most of its reasoning—is to all intents and purposes Wycliffe's own production; and that the detailed arguments of the lords are his arguments. Thus he makes one lord deny the lawfulness of the Pope's receipt of tribute on the ground that Christ and His apostles held no property, and that the owning of property by the Church was the token of her decline from original purity. This is the doctrine of Evangelical Poverty, which was the watchword of Marsiglio of Padua, and of William of Ockham and the stricter Franciscans, and had animated them in their support of Lewis the Bavarian against Pope John XXII. nearly half a century earlier. Another class of arguments relies on feudal principles. The payment of a tribute involves reciprocal obligations; it is a rendering of a "service" which implies the rendering of service in return. But the Pope, far from helping or protecting this country, aids its enemies: he can therefore have no claim to help from us. Here we have enunciated Wycliffe's leading principle of lordship (*dominium*) as conditioned by service.

The full exposition of these two doctrines—of Evangelical

Poverty and of Lordship—is found in the treatises *On the Lordship of God* and *On Civil* (or human) *Lordship*, the former of which may have been composed some years previously. Lordship and service are necessarily correspondent terms; the one cannot exist without the other. A man cannot have lordship unless there be something upon which he can exercise it. God Himself was not Lord until by creation He had provided objects to be His servants. But God's lordship is distinguished from that of man by the two facts that it holds under its sway all creatures, and all on the same terms of service: for "God rules not mediately through the rule of vassals who serve Him, as other kings hold lordship, since immediately and of Himself He makes, sustains, and governs all that which He possesses, and assists it to perform its works according to other uses which He requires." [1] The principle that all men were equal in the eyes of God—or, as Wycliffe would put it, that all held of Him, and on the same terms of service—was, of course, a commonplace of Christian doctrine. But Wycliffe transferred the conception from the religious to the political sphere. The rank which a man has in the sight of God must determine his rank, consequence, position, all that he has or is, in the sight of men. If by sin he forfeits the former, necessarily also the latter goes with it. In a word, in Wycliffe's formula, *lordship*, spiritual or temporal, *is founded in grace*.

This doctrine is not Wycliffe's own: he took it fully matured from the writings—possibly from the oral teaching—of Richard FitzRalph, who had been a fellow of Balliol College, about the time of Wycliffe's birth, and who is known to have been resident in Oxford at least as late as 1333. He died Archbishop of Armagh in 1360. But FitzRalph had employed his doctrine of lordship as a weapon to assail the Franciscan doctrine of Evangelical Poverty. To abjure all holding of property was, in his mind, to run counter to the law which governed all the relations of man and man, as of man and God. Wycliffe sought to combine the two doctrines. He would go with FitzRalph so far as the definition of lordship was concerned, but into the further issues which he raised he could not follow him. On these points he stood firm with Ockham and the Franciscans. It was only in the latter

[1] *De dominio divino*, i. 5.

stages of his career that he broke away from his friendly attitude towards the friars; and this he did, not on any ground of theory, but because the friars were the hearty advocates of the Papal authority, which he came year by year more stoutly to resist.

His Communism.

Wycliffe's doctrine of lordship was powerfully affected by the teaching of St. Augustine as to the nature of sin: "Sin is nothing, and men, when they sin, become nothing." Evil is a negation, and those who yield themselves up to it cease to retain any positive existence. Clearly, then, they can possess nothing, can hold no lordship. That which they seem to possess is no real or proper possession at all; it is but the unjust holding of that which they must one day restore to the righteous. "From him that hath not shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have." As thus the wicked hath nothing, so on the other hand the righteous is lord of all things. To that which he has not now actually, he has a potential right; and since every righteous man has this unlimited lordship, it follows necessarily that all goods must be held in common. Wycliffe's doctrine of community is one of the most express points in his system, and it is one which, we can hardly doubt, had more serious practical consequences than its author intended. Wycliffe, in truth, guarded it by important reserves as to the nature and value of human possessions. Civil society, he maintained, originated in sin, in the lust of acquisition; and civil lordship is only so far good as it is correlated with natural lordship; in other words, with the lordship based on the law of the Gospel. Civil rulers are only justified in so far as they recognise the duty of "service," that is, of their corresponding obligations towards their subjects. Still the ideal remains, that no man should hold separate property, and that all things should be had in common.

His Views of Church Property.

If this was the ideal for all men, plainly it was such in the first degree for the Church. The Church, Wycliffe urged with Ockham, should hold no property; endowments were a hindrance to its proper work. It should be limited to its strictly spiritual province. The Papacy should revert to its primitive position of an exclusively spiritual power: "for to rule temporal possessions after a civil manner, to conquer

kingdoms and exact tributes, appertain to earthly lordship, not to the Pope; so that if he pass by and set aside the office of spiritual rule, and entangle himself in those other concerns, his work is not only superfluous but also contrary to Holy Scripture."[1] If then the Church exercised functions which properly belonged to the State, it was the duty of the latter to vindicate its right over its own affairs. In such a case the State might resume possession of the lands and revenues held by the Church. But what if the Church should pronounce excommunication against its spoilers? Excommunication, is the answer, has no effect unless its object be already excommunicated by his sin. If he sin, he is already beyond the pale of Christian communion; if he have done righteously, no sentence of condemnation can alter his condition of grace. The example illustrates well the clearness with which Wycliffe pushed to its logical conclusion his view that man's position, alike civil and spiritual, was determined solely by his personal relation towards God; only his own act of rebellion against Him could expel him from the Church. It was his own character, and not his office or rank, nor any declaration made by another against him, that constituted him what he really was. The Pope himself, if unrighteous, lost his entire right to lordship. His decree, if contrary to the will of God, had no binding force. Wycliffe is careful to avoid saying a word against the existing Pope; but his devotion to him, which he expresses in terms of hearty loyalty, is no argument against the necessary right of resisting him if his commands should contravene Holy Scripture. It is evident that Wycliffe's general line of argument—setting aside his visionary communism, the drift of which was probably not at once perceived—fell in readily with the aims of those nobles who, like John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, desired a large measure of confiscation of Church property. But for many years he did not pass beyond theory; it was not until the great schism in the Papacy began in 1378 that he came forward as a practical reformer, every day more vehement and uncompromising. For the present he is no more than the trained Oxford doctor, whose learning the Government might make use of in responsible employment in matters affecting

[1] *De civili dominio*, i. 17.

the Church. In 1374 he was appointed by the Crown to the Rectory of Lutterworth, in the archdeaconry of Leicester, a living which he held for the rest of his life; and a few months later he was sent on a commission to Bruges, in company with the Bishop of St. Davids, and some others of less consequence, to treat with the Pope's

FIGURES ABOVE THE DOOR OF LUTTERWORTH CHURCH.
(*Part of a design representing "Les Trois Morts et les Trois Vifs."*)

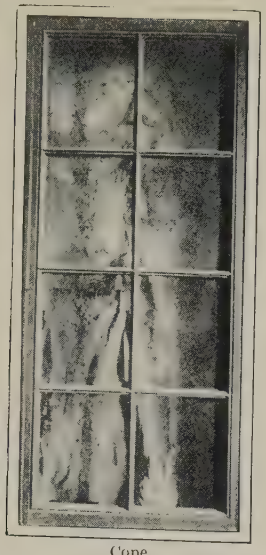
representatives on the vexed question of "provisions." That no permanent settlement was arrived at can hardly excite surprise; but it is possible that, besides the slight and temporary concessions which were then agreed upon, there were certain other articles of more solid value which were not at the time recorded, but were, in fact, laid before Parliament three years later.

Wycliffe's career as a public man had now well begun. The duties of his country benefice did not prevent him from

lecturing in theology at Oxford, where a school was forming itself around him; and from time to time he made his appearance as a preacher in London, where his opponents allow his influence to have been powerful and lasting. It can scarcely be doubted that part of his popularity was derived from the vigour of his attack upon the endowments of the Church, and that in this attack he was looked upon as the instrument of John of Gaunt's anti-clerical party. If it was desirable to strike at the Duke, it was a simple course to strike at him through Wycliffe. And so, in February, 1377, probably in consequence of some sermon preached in London, he was cited to appear before the bishops in St. Paul's Church. He obeyed the summons accompanied by John and the Lord Percy, the Marshal of England; and the Duke was attended by four friars, doctors of divinity. The opposition of parties could not be more clearly marked; but an angry brawl between Wycliffe's supporters and Bishop Courtenay put a stop to any trial of the charges the precise nature of which we are left to conjecture.

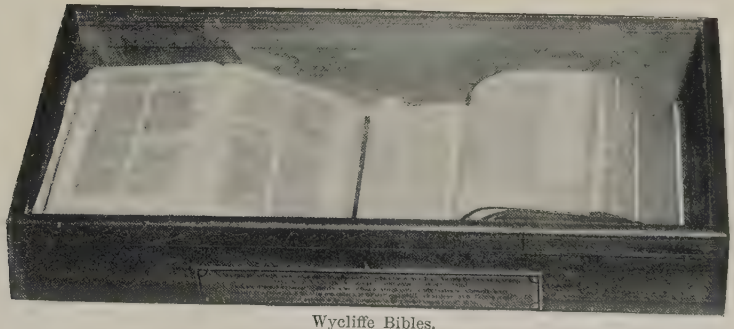
Wycliffe and the Papacy.

Steps had, however, been already taken to bring Wycliffe's obnoxious opinions before the Pope; and in May, Gregory XI., who had just restored the seat of the Papacy to Rome, executed five bulls reciting eighteen erroneous articles found in Wycliffe's writings, in which if he persisted he was to be placed in confinement to await the Pope's sentence. The articles are substantially accurate quotations from the treatise *Of Civil Lordship*, which itself embodied courses of lectures delivered at Oxford. They turn upon the questions of Church endowments, and whether the State has power to take them away; of excommunication, within what limits it may be lawfully denounced; of the authority of the Holy See, how far it is conditioned by the personal worthiness of its occupant. Wycliffe was charged with the errors of Marsiglio of Padua, the champion of the Imperial contest against Pope John XXII.; and the charge is, in effect, historically true, although it is likely that Wycliffe learned them not from Marsiglio but from his more scholastic fellow-worker, Ockham. The doctrine of Evangelical Poverty which they had set against the worldly magnificence of the Avignon Papacy, combined with FitzRalph's independently worked-out theory of lordship,



Cope.

Pulpit.



Wycliffe Bibles.

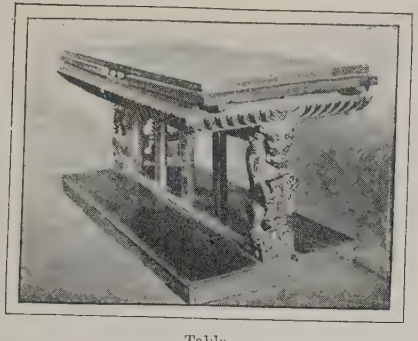


Table.

Chair.

MEMORIALS OF WYCLIFFE AT LUTTERWORTH CHURCH.

furnished well-nigh the sum-total of Wycliffe's views as to the nature and conditions of the spiritual power.

Gregory XI.'s bulls were addressed to the king, to the ecclesiastical authorities, and to the University of Oxford. They reached England at an inconvenient moment. Edward III. had died on the 21st June, and the Princess of Wales, who presided over the government on behalf of the young king, appears to have been not less well disposed towards Wycliffe than was John of Gaunt, who was himself excluded from the new council. As soon as Parliament met, Wycliffe was asked to give his opinion as to the right of refusing to allow treasure to pass out of the country even at the Pope's command; and his answer is still preserved. As a matter of precaution, however, he was enjoined to keep silence on the subject. On the question of the Papal condemnation he was far from desiring to keep silence. He drew up a statement of defence on the articles incriminated, which he laid before the House; and though no immediate steps were taken by the government for his protection, it is impossible to read the account of the various proceedings in his case which followed, without being persuaded that, however greatly John of Gaunt had excited public hostility, and to whatever extent a share of this hostility might have been expected to fall upon his ally, Wycliffe at this juncture enjoyed in no small measure the support and confidence of Englishmen.

If the bulls against the popular Oxford teacher were received with slight favour at the Court, still less ready was his University to act upon them; and its reluctance was increased when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London issued a mandate to the Chancellor requiring that Wycliffe's opinions should be examined by the Oxford divines, and that he should himself be sent up for trial in London. The University thought for a moment of standing upon its privileges and refusing to receive the bull at all. It finally decided to order Wycliffe to keep within the walls of Black Hall, where he resided, while the question of his opinions was being examined. The report was substantially in his favour; his views, it affirmed, were correct, though expressed in terms liable to be misunderstood: so little inclined

was the University to take up charges brought from without against one of its members.

Early in 1378 Wycliffe went to be heard in person before the bishops at Lambeth Palace; but the Princess of Wales anticipated the issue by sending a messenger the day before, commanding them not to deliver sentence, and when Wycliffe actually appeared with a written defence expressed in some respects in more guarded language than he had hitherto used, there appeared also in his support a body of London citizens, with the rabble at their heels. It was impossible to proceed, and the bishops could do no more than proffer a mild request that Wycliffe would avoid discussing the obnoxious propositions. Thus Wycliffe was rescued by the London mob thirsting, as it seems, for the plunder of the Church. He was now looked upon no longer as the mere adherent of the hated Duke of Lancaster, but as the champion of the national rights of the Church in opposition to the encroachments, as they were deemed, of the Papacy.

Still, Wycliffe had not at all abandoned his support of John of Gaunt, and in the course of the year he was called upon, and he consented, to undertake his defence in a highly questionable cause. Two knights had escaped from the Tower of London, in which they were imprisoned for refusing to deliver up a prisoner whose release the Duke demanded, and had taken refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster. Thither the Duke sent a band of armed men to recapture them, and in the fray which ensued one of the two was slain and the other taken prisoner. The Bishop of London thundered excommunications, and John, to elude the hostility of the Londoners, had to contrive that Parliament that autumn should meet at Gloucester. Here it was Wycliffe who supplied him with a set defence. In a state-paper which he afterwards incorporated in his book *On the Church*, he did not attempt to excuse the homicide, but he maintained strenuously the expediency of the violation of the sanctuary. He was so far in the right that the licence of asylum was open to frequent abuse; but the debatable antecedents of the case, apart from the violence with which it was attended made it difficult to defend on general grounds of principle.

Wycliffe as a Religious Reformer.

The same year, 1378, marks a crisis in Wycliffe's life. The Papacy had been restored to Rome in 1377, and now, on the death of Gregory XI., a double election took place. Urban VI. was chosen Pope on April 7th; but the French cardinals, desirous of being ruled by a Pontiff of their own race, with the further hope of returning to their beloved Avignon, declared the election void, and in September set up an antipope, Clement VII., who re-established the seat of his Papacy at Avignon. The Great Schism thus begun lasted for more than forty years, two lines of Popes reigning side by side in irreconcilable hostility. The allegiance of the various nations was divided, and while England adhered to the Roman Pope, France, except for a short interval, steadily acknowledged his rival at Avignon. The shock caused to the fidelity of Christendom acted with momentous force upon Wycliffe. Long critical of the immense range of the Pope's authority, he now came seriously to question its rightness altogether, and soon became its declared opponent. It is probable that he now set himself with all his might to the task of spreading his teaching broadcast among the English people. For this purpose he made use of two agencies, the plan and execution of which constitute his principal claim to honourable remembrance. He sent out a number of "simple priests," or "poor preachers," and he supplied them with an English Bible to direct their teaching. It is possible that the beginning of the work reaches back to an earlier time; but the Schism gives the date at which Wycliffe found it more than ever necessary to make his reforms widely popular. At the outset the poor preachers no more than the earliest Friars conflicted with the parish clergy: the object was to teach the simple truths of the Gospel to those who were strangers to them. And in this promoting of the English language Wycliffe but went in harmony with the general impulse of his day, in which he had support in the example of high dignitaries both in Church and State. But when the preachers passed from their plain expositions to criticism and denunciation of what they deemed to be evils in the existing system of the Church, jealousy and strife were inevitable.

Wycliffe's Bible.

The translation of the Bible made by Wycliffe and his disciples—the first complete version in English—gave their

efforts powerful assistance, as it became widely diffused and read: for texts were ready at hand, and were eagerly caught up, which told in favour of simplicity and unworldliness, and

MINIATURE FROM A WYCLIFFE BIBLE (MS. Arundel 104).

rebuked the pomp and pride of endowments. In the meanwhile Wycliffe sent his message home by a multitude of short, pithy tracts and sermons, in which he summed up the conclusions at which he had arrived in his ponderous and formal

Latin treatises. His activity in the closing years of his life is almost incredible, since there is reason to believe that in seven or eight years, besides the translation of the Bible, he not only wrote nearly all his English works, but completed or revised a good half of his Latin writings, which may be estimated to fill at least thirty solid volumes of print.

Wycliffe Attacks Church Doctrine.

Working thus upon the popular mind, and turning his attack now no longer against the endowed clergy and monks only, but also against his former allies the friars, he became by degrees persuaded that the root of the evils in the Church was to be found in the priestly power, and thus was led to assail the speaking symbol of that power contained in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It was the power, he felt, of "making the body of Christ" that declared most evidently the authority of the priest and contradicted most decisively that rule of equality among all Christian men, for which he found Scriptural evidence. If he could once disprove the accredited position with regard to the Sacrament, the way was clear for the general reform of the Church system on the lines for which he earnestly strove; and thus in the summer of 1380 he ventured to make his public declaration that the elements in the sacrament of the altar suffered no *material* change by virtue of the words of consecration. He denied not the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, only the change of substance in the Host. He promulgated the heresy in Oxford itself, and the Chancellor of the University, William Berton, lost no time in summoning a body of theologians and jurists to take action upon it. The doctrine was unhesitatingly condemned, but no better evidence could be desired of the high academic reputation which its author held, than the fact that in this decree his name was not mentioned. Wycliffe at once appealed to the king, and John of Gaunt in hot haste sent a messenger to Oxford urging him to silence on the obnoxious subject.

In the following year, 1381, the rising of the peasants in the eastern parts of England might seem to point but too plainly to the unsettling influence of Wycliffe's teaching. But such an inference is not sufficiently warranted by the facts. There were reasons in the social condition of England to furnish an adequate account for the rebellion without the need of going

further; and the circumstance that the insurgents vented their wrath especially against the Duke of Lancaster may be taken to offer a strong presumption that Wycliffe had no direct hand in inspiring the revolt. Still, his communistic views, however he might himself guard them with reservations, were only too well adapted to fan the flames of plunder when disseminated by less scrupulous disciples.

Archbishop Sudbury was one of the victims of the rising: his successor, Courtenay, a man of more resolute character, showed himself prompt in taking action against the doctrine which it was now impossible to let pass without a public challenge. He called a synod to inquire into the charges of false teaching at Oxford, which was held at the Blackfriars' convent in London—on the site of the present printing-office of the *Times* newspaper—on the 17th May, 1382. An earthquake, which troubled its first session and gave a name to the council, was joyfully interpreted by the Wycliffites as a manifest token of the Divine wrath. The heresy touching the sacrament was forthwith condemned, but here again no condemnation was uttered against Wycliffe himself; and we can only guess that now, as at Lambeth four years before, the influence of the Court was exerted to protect one who had proved so valuable a servant, or else that his personal ascendency at Oxford was too great for it to be prudent to attack him. In support of the former view we may note that, just before the sitting of the council, he had no fear of addressing a powerful memorial to Parliament in support of far-reaching reforms in the Church. Still, while he himself escaped, unnamed and unsentenced, rigorous measures were taken against his followers. We are told, indeed, that he was afterwards tried by a council held by Courtenay at Oxford, and that he abjured his doctrine; but this statement is accompanied by the professing text of his recantation, which is in fact a reassertion in English of the condemned doctrine: so that the story, which is otherwise unconfirmed, has in all probability arisen from a confused report of the Earthquake Council and the subsequent recantations of Wycliffe's disciples.

Nevertheless, his party at Oxford had received a heavy blow, from which it was some time in recovering; and it is

likely that the leader, who was now rapidly aging, quitted the scene of his lifelong labours, and withdrew to the tranquillity of his Leicestershire rectory. Not his courage, but his physical strength was failing. Yet he continued restlessly engaged in writing. The crusade undertaken in 1383 by the Bishop of Norwich against the adherents of the antipope, Clement VII., in Flanders, roused anew all his old fire, and he poured forth tract after tract in English and Latin, not merely against the lavish misuse of money in that futile enterprise, but also in defence of all the reforms in doctrine and practice on which his heart was set. The disaster of the crusade told strongly in his favour, and Pope Urban deemed it necessary to summon him to appear at Rome. But Wycliffe was already crippled by a paralytic stroke, and the journey, even had he been willing to take it, was impossible. He laboured on at Lutterworth until the 28th December 1384, when he was seized, while hearing mass, with a final stroke, and died two days later. He was buried in peace at Lutterworth. Nearly half a century later, in 1428, in execution of a decree of the Council of Constance passed in 1415, his remains were taken up and cast out. But his work was done; and if in England by that date his school had almost ceased to exist, he left behind him in Bohemia a tradition which, through the animating influence of Hus, penetrated a nation and stirred it to a heroic resistance to the forces of Catholic Christianity.

His Death.

C. W. C. OMAN. The Art of War.

THE hundred years of war which commence with the struggle of Edward III. and Philip of Valois, and end with the expulsion of Henry VI.'s troops from France in 1453, were the time of the military supremacy of the English archer. The use which Edward I. had made of archery had not been lost upon his grandson, and it was by the arrows of his yeomen more than by the spears of his knights that the third Edward won his successes. His Scottish victory of Halidon Hill was purely an archers' battle; the English horse were hardly engaged, and the bowmen alone riddled and turned to flight the great masses of Albany's pikemen.

In the number of mailed horse that she could put into the field, England could never have vied with France, now

that France had become a large and united kingdom, instead of the small State with which Henry II. and Richard I. had contended. The French habitually took the field with four or five times as many cavalry as the English. On the other hand, the English archery were a force to which France had nothing to oppose. By the fourteenth century they had attained a fearful efficiency: both in length of range and in penetrating force the arrow had a power which it would be hard to credit, were it not for the universal testimony of the chroniclers as to its doings. The cloth-yard shaft had a range of quite three hundred yards, and at this distance could pierce everything that was not covered with good armour. At shorter range it could penetrate even plate-armour and the complicated coverings laid one over the other which formed the knightly panoply. We hear of breastplates pierced, of steel caps nailed to the owner's head, of leg and arm coverings easily shot through. It is true that his armour was still of much use to the knight: unless the shaft struck straight and fair it would probably glance off plate, though it would go through mail. But the one most certain way of disabling the horseman was to shoot at his horse, and this the archer soon learnt to do. The charger was either unprotected, or only partially covered on head and breast by iron plates; he was a large mark, and an easy one. The killing and wounding of a proportion of its horses wrecked the charge of any body of knights. Those that fell broke the line, but far worse were those that had received a wound, who turned off, plunging to right and left "with the arrows jangling in them," carried their unwilling masters off the field, and checked or overthrew even those whose horses had been more fortunate. Froissart tells us how the front of a charging squadron often went down entire, man and horse, when it received the first flight of arrows at short range. The wounded were more numerous than the dead, and many were not even wounded, but the sudden check and confusion brought down the horses, and threw the unwieldy knights out of their saddles, so that the whole line became a confused heap of plunging and kicking horses and men, striving with more or less success to get to their feet again. After a few volleys and a few ineffectual attempts to close, the whole field in front of the line of archers

Archery.

was loaded with such a wreck of dead and wounded men and horses that succeeding squadrons could not get a fair ground to charge over.

It was the misfortune of France that the French infantry had never been noted for their skill in the use of missile weapons. The dismounted part of a French army were either the militia of the towns equipped with spear and mail-cap —as the English militia had been in the twelfth century—or the rude levies of the country-side armed with the miscellaneous weapons that had once been seen in the hands of the old English levy, or foreign mercenaries—Genoese crossbowmen, and Biscayan or Gascon javelin-men. But the French kings had never attached any importance to their foot-soldiery. As Froissart says, speaking of the days before Crécy, "they never used to count anything more than the number of *heaumes couronnés*" (crested helmets) of knightly horsemen that followed them.

A KNIGHT OF 1347.
(*Wimbish, Essex.*)

If Edward III. and the Black Prince had endeavoured to cope with their adversaries by leading charges of mailed horse against them, disaster only could have followed. The French were as gallant as and far more numerous than the English knighthood. It was the want of a sufficient force of cavalry that compelled them to give battle in a new style, acting on the defensive and making the infantry the more important element in the line of battle. The sole weak point of the archery was that, if unprotected on the wings, they might be taken at disadvantage and rolled up by cavalry assailing them from the flank. This was what had happened on the disastrous field of Bannockburn, where the archers, ill-placed,

and not aided by the cavalry, had been taken in flank by Bruce's small body of horse and driven off the field. The cavalry, unaided by bowmen, had been proved unable to break the Scottish squares, and had finally grown demoralised and fled.

Edward III. as a Tactician: Crécy.

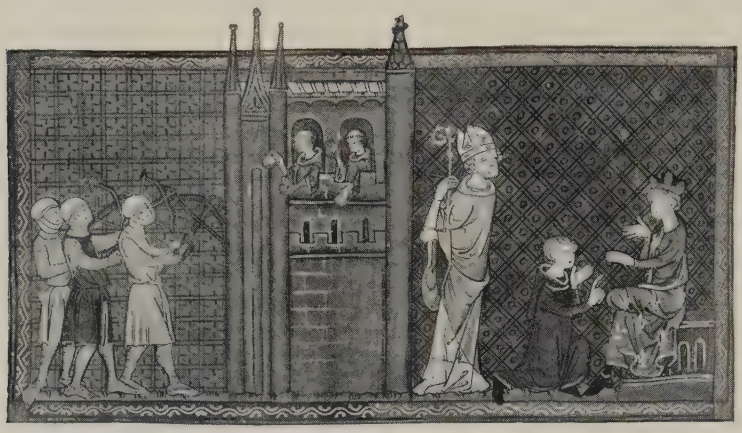
Edward III. never committed the fault of leaving his archery unsupported, or of employing cavalry without first preparing the way for them by the fire of his bowmen. His methods may be best illustrated by his management of the battle of Crécy. There the English line was composed of two divisions, commanded respectively by the Prince of Wales and the Earl of Northampton. In each about two thousand archers and eight hundred men-at-arms were placed. The archers were drawn up in wedge-shaped formation, "like a (triangular) harrow," as Froissart expresses it. Between the wedges and on the flanks of them were the men-at-arms, a little drawn back, *au fond de la bataille*. The king kept in second line a reserve of two thousand archers and seven hundred lances, while between the two lines were scattered in small bodies somewhat more than a thousand Welsh and Cornish light infantry, armed with javelins and long knives. The position was on the slope of a gentle hill crowned by a windmill, and was covered at each end by two villages with enclosures, which made flank attacks difficult.

A KNIGHT OF 1365.
(*Cobham, Kent.*)

For the first time in English history, Edward made the majority of his knights and men-at-arms dismount. The sixteen hundred horsemen in the front line all sent their horses to the rear and acted in serried clumps as heavy infantry. So the line was composed alternately of triangular bodies of

archery, and smaller squares of dismounted knights using the long lance. Only the seven hundred men-at-arms in the reserve remained on horseback.

Philip of Valois brought against the nine or ten thousand English an army at least five or six times as strong, and comprising as many mailed horsemen as Edward had troops of every sort. His front of battle, hastily and unevenly formed—for the fight was forced on against his wish by the ardour of the knights in his van division—was in four successive lines: first a vanguard of Genoese crossbowmen, then a line of squadrons



CROSSBOWMEN (MS. Roy. 16 G. vi.).

of mailed horsemen under the Counts of Flanders and Alençon, then in the third and fourth lines the rest of the horse and the unwieldy and ill-armed bodies of communal militia on foot.

The battle began with the rout of the Genoese, whose cross-bows could make no impression whatever on the English line. The archers gave them back six arrows for every bolt, being able to let fly again and again while the Italians were winding up their clumsy weapons for a single shot. Moreover the arrow had a longer range than the cross-bow, and a not less penetrating power. Even had they not had the additional disadvantage of going into battle with their bowstrings relaxed by rain, the crossbowmen could not have held their ground for long. But the really instructive and epoch-making incident of Crécy came when the second "battle" of French knights pushed to

ANELACE.
(*Guildhall Museum.*)

the front, riding through or over the routed Genoese. It had not yet been guessed that a line of archers would be able to stop a cavalry charge well pushed home, but this was now seen to be the case. Horses and men went down in heaps, a barrier of dead and wounded built itself up before the English front, and it was only here and there that small bodies of men, or even individual knights, were able to thrust themselves through the quivering mass, and close with the English men-at-arms who stood in support of the archery. Those who got to handstrokes with the dismounted knights were soon disposed of, while the rest, unwilling to retire and unable to advance, surged for some hours along the English front, seeking in vain to close, and losing more and more heavily from the archery as their masses grew more and more congested and helpless. Between the attacks the Welsh light infantry ran out from the intervals of the English line, and butchered the dismounted men struggling to gain their feet and get to the rear.

Without having moved a foot from their first position, the English slew off a quarter of the French host; and at last the whole mass turned bridle and rode off the hopeless field, to the great wrath of Philip of Valois, who still wished to continue the battle.

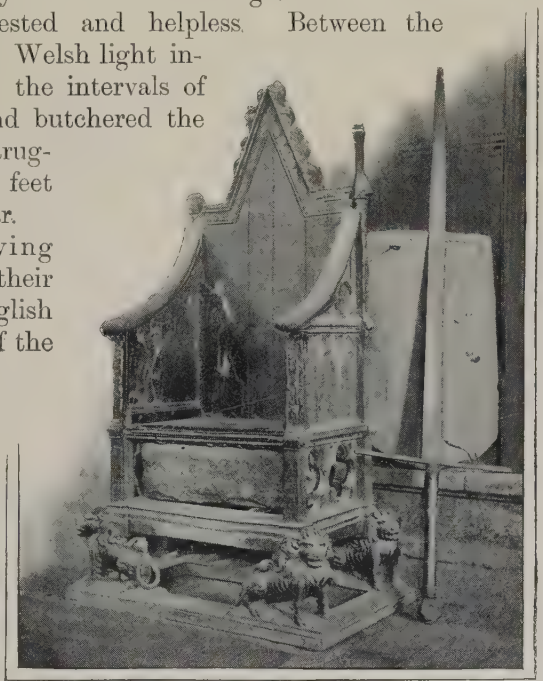


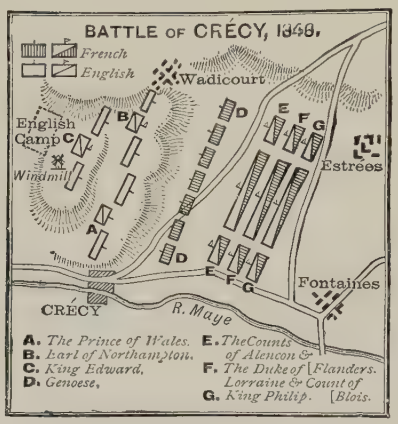
Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.

SWORD AND SHIELD CARRIED BEFORE EDWARD III. AT CRÉCY.
(*Beside the Coronation Chair, Westminster Abbey.*)

Crécy was an epoch-making field in the history

The Lessons of Crécy.

of the art of war. It led to the discrediting of the use of cavalry charges all over Western Europe, much as the result of Sempach did in Central Europe. On the English side it inaugurated the regular use of the man-at-arms as a dismounted soldier to cover the archery from flank attacks. For the future the English knighthood habitually sent their horses to the rear and shared the fortunes of the yeomanry on foot. For a hundred years our armies always endeavoured to receive battle under the same conditions as at Crécy, in a good position with flanks covered by wood, marsh, or houses, and with an array composed of archery, interspersed with bodies of dismounted men-at-arms.



(*From Oman's "History of England": Edward Arnold.*)

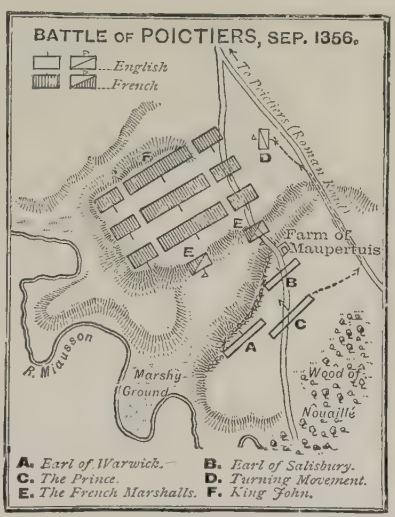
On the French side Crécy led to an even greater revolution in the art of war. Finding that he could not close, because his horse would infallibly be killed if he tried to ride in, the French knight, like the English, resolved to try his fortune on foot. When next the nations met in pitched battle at Poitiers, in 1356 the French king bade all his knights, save a picked vanguard and two small wings, to dismount, send their horses to the rear, cut short their long lances to six feet only, and advance on foot.

Poitiers.

The inspiration was not a happy one on the part of King John, for at Poitiers (or rather Maupertuis as we ought to call the field) the English were in position on a rough hill-side covered by vines and brushwood, and protected by lines of hedge. A dismounted knight was not suited for scrambling up a slope among tangled underwood. The vanguard of mounted men tried to get at the English through a gap in the hedge which covered their line, and were shot down by the archers who lined the front. The first line rolled slowly up-hill, and actually got to handstrokes with the English, but was beaten back. They fell back on the second line and threw it in disorder. Then the

Black Prince made his men-at-arms mount and ride down into the confused mass, while a detached body, who had circumvented a wood to the side, came down and charged the French in flank. The result was crushing: the main body of the French took to their heels, got back to their horses and fled. Only the king's division in the third line stayed to fight, and were riddled with archery, and then trampled down by a charge of horse.

The spirit of the French chivalry was so damped by the result of their second endeavour to cope with the English archery and dismounted men-at-arms, that for some years they never accepted another battle in the open field, but shut themselves up in towns and castles, and suffered their enemies to march through the length and breadth of the land without having to risk an engagement. They fell back, in fact, on the superiority of the defensive over the offensive in the art of fortification which had continued ever since the eleventh century. In 1373 the Earl of Lancaster was allowed to cross the whole of France, from Calais to Bordeaux, and to pass by the very gates of Paris without being assaulted. The policy of this abstinence on the part of the French was justified by the event—hunger, fatigue, and the cutting off of stragglers harmed Lancaster's army far more than a pitched battle would probably have done.



(From Oman's "History of England": Edward Arnold.)

The only occasion on which the English got the opportunity of fighting an engagement on a large scale in these times was at the Spanish battle of Najera or Navarette. The usual results followed; the Spaniards of Henry of Trastramara were still accustomed to fighting on horseback, and only a small part of the army, moved by the councils of the French auxiliaries

who served in their ranks, dismounted and fought on foot. When the fighting began, the Spanish wings, where the horse were placed, were shot down by the hundred and soon left the field, while the only obstinate resistance was made by the phalanx of knights on foot in the centre, who took some hard strokes before they were surrounded and overborne.

The English Decline.

In the last years of Edward III., when the English cause fared so badly in France, the ill-success which followed the great

KNIGHTS AT POITIERS (MS. Sloane 2433).

victories of earlier years was not brought about by any marked decline of the efficiency of the English, but by the cautious defensive tactics of their adversaries, and the exhaustion in England, due to the long protraction of the war. The English ranks were more and more filled up with foreign auxiliaries, Flemings, Germans, Gascons, and the invincible archery made a small proportion in the host. But the reduction of the war to a series of long bickerings round fortresses was the thing that harassed the English most. The tactics of Bertrand de Guesclin, who was the soul of the French army, were to assault the small outlying garrisons on the frontier of Guienne. If left alone he took them, if a relieving army marched against him he made off, and laid siege to some distant stronghold where he was least expected. He fought by night surprises, ambuscades, escalades.

and stratagems of all descriptions, but seldom or never in engagements in the open field. This system wore away the strength of the English, who were better suited for winning great battles than for carrying on long and harassing campaigns.

If the fourteenth century represents in the line of tactics in the open field the victory of the defensive over the offensive, of

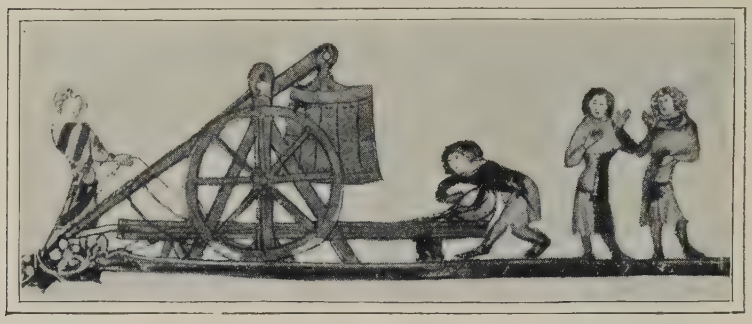
ARMOUR ABOUT 1380 (MS. Add. 29,704).

the line of archers and dismounted men-at-arms over the charging squadron, it represents in the line of fortification the beginning of the opposite tendency—of the victory of the offensive over the defensive. Castle-building had arrived at its highest pitch of perfection in England about the time of Edward I., and magnificent works like Carnarvon and Caerphilly represent the triumph of the builder over the engineer's attack. But in the reign of his grandson England saw for the first time the employment of the new engine which was ultimately to reduce the embattled castle to impotence. It was in the second quarter of the century that gunpowder first began to be used in Europe; first in Italy, shortly afterwards in France, and then in

The Art of Attack.

Cannon.

England. The first cannons—smaller firearms came in much later—were rude iron or brass engines, sometimes molten in a piece, but often made of bars welded together round a core, afterwards removed, and hooped about with rings to keep them together. They were small, slow in fire, and very liable to accidents. The cast guns often burst from a flaw in the metal; the hooped guns still more frequently flew to pieces and scattered destruction around. The English reader will remember a typical disaster of the kind in the explosion of the hooped gun which burst into its component parts and slew James II. of Scotland at the siege of Roxburgh. Another cause of the comparative feebleness of artillery in its first days was the badness of its powder; the right proportions for mixing the saltpetre, sulphur,



THE OLD ARTILLERY: A TRÉBUCHET. (MS. 264).
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

and charcoal had not yet been quite settled, and the impurity of the saltpetre which the chemists of the day produced was a perpetual hindrance.

Still, when once cannon had been introduced into warfare the offensive found itself in possession of a weapon which placed it on quite a new footing as regards the defensive, and as years went on the advantage grew more marked, for cannon and powder gradually improved. Slow as was their fire—three shots an hour was fair practice for a big bombard—and comparatively weak as was the impact of their stone balls, they were yet able to beat down a castle wall, if they could be brought near enough, and enabled to play long enough upon it. The mangonels and perrières and rams of a preceding age had never had any such

decisive effect. When the attacking party had once taken to employing guns against the besieged place, the defenders soon found that the counter-use of artillery was their best protection. Guns were, when practicable, mounted on the walls and directed on the artillery of the attack, so as to overpower its fire, beat down the mantlets and palisades erected to cover it, and disable its gunners. But two things hampered the defensive use of cannon: the old town and castle walls were not, as a rule, sufficiently broad and strong to provide a secure platform for artillery, and even if the guns could be hoisted up, the attack could always concentrate more fire on a given space than the defence. The narrowness of the old walls was, however, the chief hindrance; the recoil of the discharged gun tended to

THE OLD ARTILLERY: A SPRINGALD. (MS. 264).
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

throw it over; or if to avoid this the gun was fixed to its place, a few discharges began to loosen the stones of the wall and weakened the defence even more than the fire of the attack. In early days we hear of several occasions when the besieged had to slacken or cease their discharge of cannon because of the harm it was doing them.

The earliest record of the use of guns in the Hundred Years' War was on the French side; a fleet told off in 1348 to attack Southampton having been provided, as French archives show, with a *pot de fer*, and three pounds of powder (a not very magnificent provision!) for shooting iron bolts. Later in the same year a French Treasurer-for-War is found providing *poudres et canons* for the siege of the little English fort of Puy

Guilliem in Guienne. The English were not much later in applying the all-important invention. In 1344 Thomas de Roldeston appears in charge of "the king's engines," and is directed to make powder for them. Three years later the same Thomas was ordered "to buy at once all the saltpetre and sulphur he could find for sale," to make into powder. He could only get together 700 pounds of the former at eighteenpence the pound, and 310 pounds of the latter at eightpence.

The First English Cannon.

The one chronicler—Villani—who states that the English brought a few cannons into the field at Crécy, "which threw little iron balls and frightened the horses," is probably wrong. No English source mentions them; their use was only just commencing for siege purposes in the armies of Edward III.; and their employment in the open field does not seem to have been contemplated. It is, on the other hand, quite probable that Froissart is correct when, in the next year, 1347, he states that King Edward placed some bombards in the fort which formed the central point of his lines of investment round Calais; cannon were used in position long before they became mobile and suited for the open field. But even in great fortresses guns were still very few; the Tower of London in 1360 mounted only four, all of brass; and ten years later Calais, now become the chief of English strongholds, had but fifteen; Dover, in 1372 had six. By this time, however, our armies were beginning to take a very small train of artillery about with them for siege purposes; the Black Prince in his great foray round France in 1356, which ended in the battle of Poitiers, used cannon against Romorantin, and took it by their fire, though he made no employment of them in the great battle which followed. In 1369 Froissart tells us

THE EARLIEST REPRESENTATION OF A CANNON.
(*By permission of the Dean and Governing Body, Christchurch, Oxford.*)

CAPTURE OF CALAIS. (*Lambeth Palace Library.*)

[*To face p. 246.*

SPRINGALD.
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

EARLY CANNON AND SPRINGALD.
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

that Sir John Chandos was *accustomed* to take about "cannons and springalds" with his host, which implies that the usage had come habitual. But these were, as before, for siege work; it is not till the fifteenth century that we find them employed in the field; we believe that we are not wrong in stating that Northampton was the first English battle where they were so used by native generals, and Formigny the first where they were used against us. In all the chief fights of that century—Agincourt, Verneuil, Cravant, Patay, St. Albans, Towton, we find none. At Châtillon and Formigny the French used them to some effect; in the Wars of the Roses they were brought into use at Northampton—where their discharge was entirely frustrated by the rain—Barnet and Tewkesbury, but had a decisive effect on none of these battles. The only one among those which we have cited where they really influenced the event of the day was at Châtillon, where they were used from a carefully entrenched position, and proved effective in mowing down crowded charging columns who assaulted their front.

But the day of field artillery had not yet arrived. The characteristics of the fifteenth century, as well as of the fourteenth, were the predominance of the archer and the dismounted man-at-arms in the battlefield; the ever-increasing efficiency of artillery was only felt in sieges.

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy.

EDWARD III. and his family brought the English Navy to a pitch of glory such as it had never before attained. The king himself, the Black Prince, and the king's fourth son, John of Gaunt, repeatedly fought at sea, and by their supervision, as well as by their presence, benefited alike the general development and the spirit of the Service. Not undeservedly was Edward given by his subjects the title of "King of the Sea"; yet, owing to his Majesty's strange misapprehension of the real power of his country, and to his conviction, especially in later life, that the conquering mission of England had before it on land an even finer field than it had upon the waves, Edward's great naval victories produced no lasting direct results, and at the close of his long reign, his fleet, neglected for the sake of his army, had fallen into absolute decay. For many years,

however, the reign was one of steady naval progress, and of magnificent maritime successes. The battles of Sluys (or the Swyn), when the French fleet was almost annihilated, and of "Les Espagnols sur Mer," when the Spaniards were crushingly defeated, were victories which in any age would have been remarkable, and which could not but exert immense influence upon the ambitions and future policy of the race that won them, and that then, for the first time, learnt to know its power.

In Edward's time the narrow seas were far better policed than in the days of any of his ancestors, and piracy in consequence decreased, but it did not altogether disappear, nor were the coasts completely protected against hostile raids. About the year 1338, persons who had goods and chattels near the sea were directed to remove them for safety a distance of four leagues inland. In 1339 a French squadron appeared at Southampton and summoned the town to surrender, but withdrew without effecting its purpose. Later in the same year a body of French pirates burnt some fishermen's huts at Hastings, and alarmed Dover and Folkestone, while another body entered the port of Plymouth and burnt some ships there. Reprisals were, however, promptly undertaken by the English, who entered the port of Boulogne, captured several vessels, hung up a dozen French captains, and burnt part of the town. Indeed, though the English coasts were harried much, the French coasts were probably the greater sufferers. The king more than once specifically reasserted the British claim to the dominion of the seas, and, it must be admitted, did more than any of his predecessors to substantiate it. So long as he persisted in this policy, trade flourished, but after 1360 the sea-borne commerce of the country greatly declined; and the English naval disasters of 1372 and 1375 placed it, for many years afterwards, in a most precarious position. But that these disasters occurred and went unavenged was the fault of the Government rather than of the maritime spirit of the people. In 1360, a most disgraceful order was promulgated and sent to all the ports directing that every vessel should be drawn up high on shore at a considerable distance from the water, so as to save her from the French, who were known to be in force at sea; yet, in that year, Nicholas of Lynn (or Lymne), a friar of Oxford and a

good astronomer, is reported, in company with some other persons, to have made a voyage of discovery towards the North Pole (p. 483). He is said to have made his discoveries "by magic arts," for which we may, perhaps, read "exceptional skill in navigation." Whether the report of his having undertaken the expedition is deserving of credit cannot now be ascertained; but there is nothing antecedently improbable in it, and, if we accept it, we must place the name of Friar Nicholas at the head of the golden roll of Arctic explorers, the greatest of whom have been Nicholas's countrymen. Unfortunately, no account of the voyage remains.

Before the king left England, after the renewal of war with France in 1359, a measure which, at a later period of English history, had important developments, was adopted. In order to protect the national trade, the Council, with the consent of the native and foreign merchants who were summoned before it, but without the assent of Parliament, imposed a tax of sixpence in the pound on all merchandise imported or exported, so that a fleet might be maintained at sea. Another point of marine law that deserves notice is that from the records of certain proceedings of 1371 it appears that neutral ships carrying the property of the belligerent States of France and Spain were held liable to seizure, and that, in other words, free bottoms did not make free goods.

The Black Book of the Admiralty.

From the reign of Edward III. dates that most valuable record of ancient naval manners and customs, the "Black Book of the Admiralty," the more important contents of which are here summarised.

An Admiral after receiving his commission, was immediately to appoint lieutenants, deputies, and other officers, who were to be well acquainted with the law and the ancient customs of the sea. He was then to ascertain from them the number and sizes of all the ships, barges, balingers, and other vessels in the ports, and the names of their owners. The deputies were also to discover by inquiry how many seamen available for defensive purposes were in the realm, so that the king might always know his force at sea. When a fleet was ordered to be equipped, the admiral, if a knight, was to be paid four shillings a day; if a baron, six shillings and eightpence; and if an earl, eight shillings and fourpence. For each knight in his retinue he was

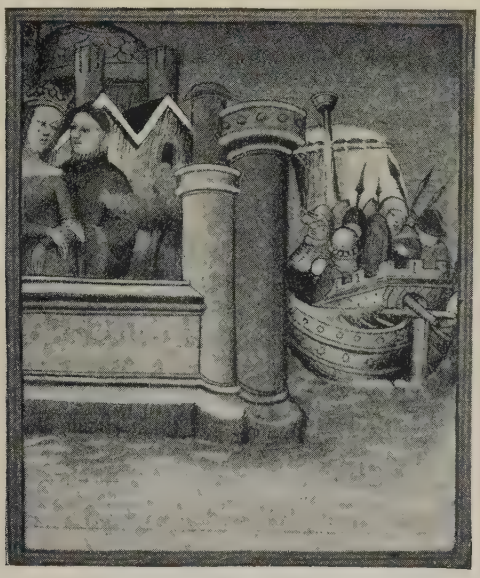
A PAGE FROM THE "BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY" (MS. Vesp. B. xxii.).

allowed two shillings; and for each esquire armed, one shilling; for thirty men-at-arms, £66 13s. 4d. a quarter; and for each archer sixpence a day. He was to take measures for the proper administration of justice in all cases brought before him, "according to the law and ancient custom of the sea"; for which purposes, and to assist him in the performance of his other duties, the king's letters were sent to mayors, sheriffs, and other officers, enjoining them to be obedient to him and his deputies.

As soon as a fleet was collected, the admiral was to choose the best ship for the king, or for the king's lieutenant, and this ship was called "the king's chamber." If the king himself were present, the next best ships were to be selected by the steward of the household—one for "the hall," in which presumably councils were held; one for "the wardrobe," or royal storeship; one for "the larder," and a fourth for "the kitchen"; and, if necessary, still other ships were to be taken by the steward. Should a son, a brother, or an uncle of the king be present, a good ship was to be provided for him. Before the admiral selected a ship for himself, he was to provide accommodation for the lords and captains about to be embarked, and for their stores. Every master and every constable of a ship was to be paid sixpence, and each mariner threepence-halfpenny a day, with an additional sixpence a week as a "reward"; and every "sea-boy" was to receive three-halfpence (some copies erroneously say twopence-halfpenny) a day; but for masters, constables, and boys, there was no fixed "reward."

Since the admiral was the commander of the sailors, and was bound to support them in all their laws and customs, to defend them, and, if needful, to sue for their wages, he was awarded fourpence out of every pound paid to them; for which fourpence he had, in return, to carry at his masthead at night while the fleet was at sea, two lanterns, in order that the masters might know what course he was steering. If the king were in the fleet, the admiral was to approach his ship every evening, and to take the royal commands as to the course to be steered during the ensuing twenty-four hours. If the king were not present, the same deference was to be paid to his lieutenant. The other ships were then to assemble round the admiral to learn the royal directions. At night the king's ship, or that of his

lieutenant, was to be distinguished by three large lanterns arranged triangle-wise, but more lanterns might, if his Majesty pleased, be carried. A vice-admiral was to carry one lantern. The station of the Vice-Admiral of the West extended from the Thames to the south-west, and while upon it he might carry two lanterns, as might the Vice-Admiral of the North when to the northward and eastward of the Thames; but one of the vice-admirals, when on the station of the other, was to carry only one



WARSHIP LEAVING PORT (MS. Roy. 20 C. v.)

lantern. If the admiral desired to call together the captains and masters of the fleet in order to consult them, he was to hoist half-mast high "a banner of council," on seeing which they were to go on board in their boats.

All goods taken from the enemy by persons receiving the king's wages were to be divided into four parts, of which the king took one, and the owners of the ships another. The remaining moiety was to be thus divided: to the admiral, if present at the capture, two shares; if not present, one share; to others present, the rest, the share being, of course, proportionate to the numbers engaged. Of property taken by seamen not in

the king's service, the king was to receive no part; but the admiral was to receive as before.

No man, when in an enemy's ship or country, was to touch the Holy Sacrament upon pain of being drawn and hanged, nor to commit sacrilege or rape upon pain of death. No master was to "cross his sail aloft," until the admiral had done so; but upon the admiral doing so, all vessels were to follow suit. Similarly no vessel was to anchor until the admiral had anchored; and when he had done so, all vessels were to anchor as close to him as they conveniently could. At sea, also, they were to keep as close to him as possible; and no ship was to enter or leave a port by day or by night without his permission. When a ship sighted an enemy at sea she was to hoist a banner. If any ship were permitted to leave the fleet and meet a strange vessel, she was to examine her cargo and papers; and, should it appear that the stranger was, or contained, property belonging to the enemy, she and her master were to be carried before the admiral, who was to release her if a friend, and to keep her if an enemy, "according to the custom of the sea." Should any vessel offer resistance, she was to be treated as an enemy, and carried to the admiral, but not to be pillaged nor needlessly damaged. In the event of any ship being captured, no one was to presume to take her out of the fleet without the admiral's consent, upon pain of paying double her value. The captors of an enemy's vessel were entitled to the goods and armour on the hatches and upper deck, except the tackle and other things belonging to the ship's equipment, and except also what was exempted by the ancient customs and usages of the sea. No seaman was to be beaten or ill-used, but offenders were to be brought by the captain or master before the admiral, to receive such punishment as the law of the sea provided.

In case of the separation of a fleet by stress of weather, the masters were to follow the admiral to the best of their ability, upon pain of being considered rebels. On arriving in an enemy's port the admiral was to appoint a sufficient force to protect people sent for fresh water and other necessaries. When a castle or city was to be attacked, no one was to make an assault without the admiral's orders. Troops landed on an enemy's territory for provisions were not to proceed until the harbingers (scouts) had first returned to them. No place was to be set on

fire without the admiral's orders. Soldiers and mariners were not to be landed unless accompanied by responsible officers, lest they might commit excesses. No boat, after the fleet had sailed, was to be sent back to a port without the admiral's permission. No ship, "from, pride, envy, or hatred," was to injure another. Search was to be made in ports for such thieves as stole anchors, ropes, boats, etc. He who was convicted by a jury of twelve persons of having stolen an anchor or a boat to the value of twenty-one pence, was to be hanged. Anyone stealing a buoy-rope attached to an anchor was to be hanged, no matter how small might be its value. For cutting a ship's cable, the penalty, in case any loss of life resulted, was death. If there were no loss of life, the offender was to make good the damage and to pay a fine to the king. If he were unable to do so, and if the owners prosecuted, he was to be hanged; but in this event he was not to be condemned at the king's suit, and there was not to be "an appeal of battle." The same penalties were prescribed for weighing an anchor without informing the master or crew, in case death, or the loss of the ship, resulted. If a sailor were condemned to death for stealing the goods of aliens, the aliens, if not enemies, were to have the goods restored, provided that they did not insist upon the felon's execution. If a foreign ship were plundered and the crew ill-used at any port, the warden and six or eight of the leading persons of the port were to be arrested until the admiral had ascertained by whom the felony had been committed. If there were many ships in the port, the admiral was to take the masters and "bursers" and four of the crew, and to cause the ships to be searched until he found the criminals, or was informed by whom the robbery had been effected. Stealing an oar, anchor, or other small thing was punishable, upon conviction by a jury, with imprisonment for forty days; a second offence, with imprisonment for half a year; and a third, with hanging. No lieutenant of an admiral could, without a special warrant, try matters involving life and death. Divers minor offences, which are specified, were punishable with fine or imprisonment, or with both. If a man injured another in a quarrel and was the beginner of the fray, he was not only to make the other amends, but to pay to the king a fine of five pounds, or lose the hand with which he struck the blow, unless he obtained pardon from the king or the high admiral.

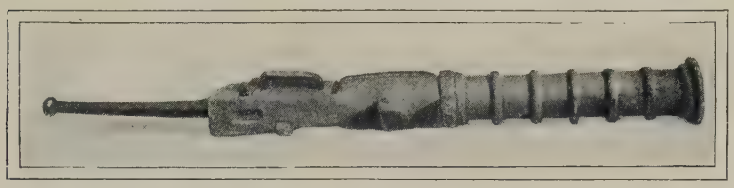
Offenders were, pending communication with the admiral, to be imprisoned by the master of the ship. The master was to be assisted on such an occasion by the crew, and anyone refusing assistance was liable to the same punishment as the original offender. Process in the admiral's court against an absconded prisoner is described, and is said to have been settled in the time of Henry I.

If any ship that had been impressed for the king's service broke away, and if a jury were satisfied of the fact, the vessel was to be forfeited. A seaman refusing to serve at sea was punishable with imprisonment for one year for the first offence, and for two years for the second. Contracts between merchant and merchant beyond sea, or within flood mark, were to be proclaimed before the admiral; and hue-and-cry or bloodshed within his jurisdiction was punishable with two years' imprisonment and a fine. Merchants having sometimes gone on board vessels entering a port to purchase the whole cargo, and having then sold it at a higher price than the original owners would have demanded, it was ordered that such offenders should be liable to imprisonment for half a year, and to a fine equal to the value of the cargo so purchased. The same penalties were awarded to purchasers in gross of corn, fish, and other provisions within flood-mark. If a warden of a port, or a water-bailiff levied unlawful customs, he was to be imprisoned and fined the amount so levied. If anyone sued a merchant or mariner for a matter cognisable by marine law, he was, upon conviction, to be fined. Goods found at sea as flotsam, or at the bottom of the sea, were to be reported to the admiral on pain of fine and surrender of the value of the goods. All deodands,[1] as gold or valuables, found on a man killed or drowned at sea belonged to the admiral, who was to employ one-half for the soul of the deceased and one-half for the benefit of the deceased's family, if any. Carpenters of ships taking extravagant salaries to the prejudice of shipping were to be fined at the admiral's discretion. The exportation of corn without special licence, except to Bayonne, Bordeaux, Brest, and Calais, was punished with a fine equal to the value of the corn.

[1 Any inanimate object which accidentally caused, or was associated with, the death of a human being, was "given to God"—in practice, forfeited to the Crown or one of its officers for religious uses.]

Cases in the Admiralty Court were, it is clear, always tried by jury; and a very extraordinary penalty was prescribed for the juryman who "discovered the king's counsel and that of his companions in a jury." His throat was to be cut, and his tongue drawn out of his throat, and cut from his head.

In Edward's day carpenters and pursers seem to have first attained to the dignity of naval officers. Large vessels carried two carpenters, and as a carpenter received sixpence a day he was evidently regarded as an important person on board. The clerk, or "burser," received similar pay, which put



A PRIMITIVE BREECH-LOADING CANNON. (*Rotunda Museum, Woolwich*)
(*By permission of the General Officer Commanding Woolwich District.*)

him on a level with the master and constable. All stores and provisions were placed under his charge; he sometimes provided them, and he also acted as ship's paymaster. A hint that, in certain circumstances, a kind of uniform was furnished is provided by a note in the wardrobe accounts, to the effect that the king gave the master, crew, and soldiers of his galley, the *Thomas*, a coat of ray-cloth, apiece.

Naval Armament.

The ships of the period are recorded to have been armed with springalds, haubergeons, bacinets, bows, arrows, jacks, doublets, targets, pavises, lances, and "firing barrels." These last were, there is little doubt, guns of some kind; and the mention of them suggests a brief inquiry into the first adoption of cannon and gunpowder into the English Navy. "It is manifest," says Sir N. H. Nicolas, "that cannon made part of the armament of many ships as early as, and probably a few years before, 1338; that about 1372, guns and gunpowder were commonly used; that some guns were made of iron, some of brass, and others of copper; that there was a kind of hand-gun, as well as large cannon; and that gunpowder was formed of the same elements, and made nearly in the same manner, as at

present. Among the stores of the hulk *Christopher of the Tower* in June, 1338, were three iron cannon with five chambers, a hand-gun, some article of iron (of which the name is obliterated in the Roll) for the cannon, and three old stone bags, no doubt bags to hold shot. The barge called the *Mary of the Tower* had an iron cannon with two chambers, and another of brass with one chamber. Two iron cannons 'without stuff' are mentioned; and in the king's private wardrobe were two great guns of copper. Guns had, in some instances, handles; for among the king's expenses between 1372 and 1374, were payments for 'helvying,' or putting handles to, eight guns. There are also numerous entries in the naval accounts for those years relating to gunpowder and shot for guns, of which the following are the most material:—A small barrel of gunpowder, a quarter full; one hundred and eighty-four pounds of powder for guns, made from one hundred and thirty-five pounds of saltpetre and forty-nine pounds of live sulphur; and also two hundred and forty-two pounds of pure live sulphur. Payments occur to workmen for making powder and pellets of lead for guns at the Tower of London. There were purchased coal and five hundred of 'talwode' for casting the lead and drying the powder; four trays of wood, and brazen pots and dishes for drying the powder over the fire and by the sun; also leather bags to hold the same powder; two brass mortars, three iron pestles, twelve iron spoons to make leaden bullets; ten moulds of 'laton' (a sort of brass) to make the same; one pair of scales to weigh the powder; thirty small barrels with hasps and staples to hold the bullets; thirty small hanging locks for the said barrels; two hundred and twenty pounds of saltpetre; two 'sarces' (sieves); eighteen bellows; earthen pots and pans to dry the powder by the fire and sun; and willows for making charcoal."

The chambers to cannon were movable breechpieces, which, being charged, were placed in the gun. A gun with a chamber of this kind, but of the fifteenth century, was shown at the Royal Naval Exhibition of 1891. It was formed of longitudinal bars of iron, hooped together with iron rings. The guns which had handles were probably small ones, to be mounted on iron forks and used as swivels. The guns were primed at the touch-holes and discharged by means of fire-irons heated to redness.

Rates of Freight.

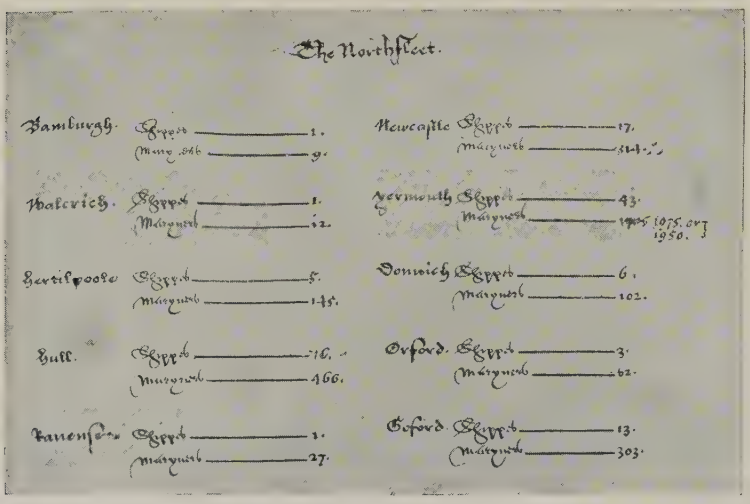
The expense of freightage was low in the fourteenth century. In 1370 the sum of £30 6s. was paid for a ship with a crew of thirty-eight men, carrying twenty soldiers and sixteen archers from Southampton to Normandy. In 1368 the transport from Dover to Calais, in thirty-nine ships and thirteen smaller vessels, of the Duke of Clarence, four hundred and fifty-seven men-at-arms, and one thousand two hundred and eighty horses, cost only £173 6s. 8d. But there had previously been a tendency on the part of the passenger-carriers to raise prices, for in 1330 it was enacted that, the keepers of the passage to France having increased their charges, no higher fare should in the future be exacted than the ancient rate of two shillings for every horseman and sixpence for each foot-passenger. Long before 1330, it may be of interest to add, a company called "The Fare Ship Company," existed at Dover, its business being the management of trans-channel traffic. The vessels of this company sailed according to a pre-arranged roster, each ship apparently making three passages, and then not making any more until all the other ships had done likewise. The company was governed by four wardens, who were empowered to enforce their regulations by the infliction of fines upon members or shareholders who failed to comply with them. The fines went, however, not to the company, but to the king.

The English Ports.

The relative commercial importance of the sea-ports of England during this period may probably be estimated with some degree of fairness from the number of ships supplied by the chief of them for the Calais expedition. According to the "Roll of Calais,"[1] the ports, with the ships furnished, ranked as follows:—Fowey, 47; Yarmouth, 43; Dartmouth, 31; Plymouth, 26; Shoreham, 26; London, 25; Bristol, 24; Sandwich, 22; Southampton, 21; Winchelsea, 21; Weymouth, 20; Looe, 20; Lynn, 19; Newcastle, 17; Boston, 17; Dover, 16; Hull, 16; Margate, 15; Harwich, 14; the Isle of Wight, 13; Ipswich, 12; Hook, 11; Grimsby, 11; and Exmouth, 10. The other ports furnished less than ten ships apiece, Portsmouth and Hartlepool sending only 5 each, Poole only 4, and Cardiff and the Mersey only 1 each. Ranked according to the number of mariners furnished, the order is Yarmouth, Fowey, Dartmouth, London, Bristol, Plymouth, Winchelsea, Southampton, Sandwich, etc.

[1] Printed in Nicolas' "History of the Royal Navy," App. vii., Vol. II.

The Navy under Richard II.

The reign of Richard II. was, upon the whole, disastrous both for the royal and the commercial navy of the country. The royal navy was even more neglected than it had been in the last years of King Edward III.; and, although a naval victory was won off Cadsand in 1387, the country's normal condition during this unfortunate period was one of terror—often of abject terror—lest the French should invade and conquer it. The defective discipline of the fleet may be judged from the facts that in 1377, when the Earl of Buckingham and Lord FitzWalter

PORTION OF THE "ROLL OF CALAIS" (MS. Harl. 3968).

were supposed to be co-operating against the French at Brest, they were, in reality, fighting one against the other, and that, when the leaders did, in a half-hearted way, at length co-operate, the seamen mutinied. The ships seem to have been transformed, too, into floating dens of vice and barbarity; and a very lurid light is thrown upon the sea manners of those days by the record that when, in 1379, Sir John Arundel's squadron was overtaken by a storm, sixty women who were on board [1] were

[1] They had been inmates of a nunnery near Southampton that he had plundered before sailing—nuns, schoolgirls, and others. Some had gone voluntarily, others were taken by force. The story is told by Walsingham, i., pp. 420-424, Rolls Series.]

thrown into the waves to lighten the vessels. Almost every year the coasts were insulted by the French. In 1380, according to some historians, the Spaniards entered the Thames and burnt part of Gravesend; yet the English Government refused to be aroused from its lethargy, and the most brilliant naval actions of the time were the fruit of the patriotism and gallantry of private individuals. John Philpott, Mayor of London, fitted out at his own cost a squadron to oppose the combined French, Scottish, and Spanish pirates, who, in 1378, under John Mercer, ravaged the Yorkshire coast; and in 1385 the men of Portsmouth and Dartmouth, "hired," as Walsingham says, "by none, bought by none, but spurred on by their own valour and innate courage," put to shame the pusillanimity of the Administration by fitting out an expedition against the French at the mouth of the Seine. At the very moment when the kingdom was most in danger, the Government permitted the greater part of the fleet, as well as an immense army, to leave England in furtherance of the Duke of Lancaster's selfish pretensions to the crown of Castile; and the consequences were that trade was almost ruined, and that such ships as remained in England were, for the most part, laid up in harbours across the mouths of which chains were drawn. Nor did trade suffer only by the inability of the Government to protect it; for the king arrested, from time to time, all such merchant-vessels as would suit his immediate purpose, and seldom thought of making either compensation or restitution to their owners. Yet acts that were designed for the encouragement of the trade of the country were passed under Richard II. One measure, which was adopted in 1390, and which foreshadowed the Navigation Laws of a much later date, enacted that "all merchants of the realm of England shall freight in the said realm the ships of the said realm, and not foreign ships, so that the owners of the said ships may take reasonably for the freight of the same." This statute not being properly observed, the Commons in the following year petitioned the king that inasmuch as the navy of England was greatly weakened and impaired, no English merchant should be allowed to put goods or merchandise into a foreign vessel in any case where he could freight an English one, upon pain of forfeiting the goods shipped in a foreign bottom; and the king answered: "Let the statute thereupon made be kept and

observed"; though it does not appear that his Majesty's utterance led to the slightest improvement. That the merchants were not always honest in their often expressed anxiety for the welfare of the country may be inferred from Walsingham's assertion that in 1383 a Genoese carack,[1] richly laden, was driven into Sandwich by stress of weather, and that though her cargo would have sufficed to supply the whole country with particular commodities, the merchants of London induced her to proceed to Flanders, lest the sale of the goods which they had on hand might be prejudiced by the bringing into the market of goods fresher and better.

REGINALD HUGHES. Architecture and Art.

BEFORE the mid-day splendours of Edward III.'s reign had been lost in the gloom and confusion of its close, the decadence of Gothic art had begun. But the processes of decay were slow, and the change from the free grace of the earlier to the stiff utilitarianism of the later style occupied forty years or more. The period usually assigned to the transition from Decorated to Perpendicular is from 1360 to 1399; but the chronological line must not be too sharply drawn. Perhaps, indeed, it would be safer to shift the first date a little further back, for in Gloucester Cathedral we have typical mixed work which is certainly not much later than 1350, and by the end of the century the victory of Perpendicular forms was complete.

Transition to Perpendicular.

It is probable that the "plague of Froissart," that most potent of all influences in the fourteenth century, had something to say to the rise and progress of the new architecture. During the winter of 1348–9 the pestilence had swept off the workmen like flies, and the scarcity of labour was felt with prodigious severity in every department of the national life. More than one attempt was, as we have seen, made by Parliament to control wages, not only those of the hedger and ditcher, but of the skilled artisan, and in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. the amended Statute of Labourers actually fixed the wages of "a master freemason" at fourpence per day. Such wages, no more than the pay of a corporal of Welsh auxiliaries (who, besides, had his dress, his long knife, and his rations for nothing), was not likely to secure the highest artistic skill; and though the

[1] A carack was primarily a cargo-carrying vessel.

statute must, to some extent, have remained a dead letter, so far as it had any effect at all it operated to drive the artificer out of the country. It certainly is significant that Perpendicular forms, which, of all that are included under the name of Gothic,

EAST WINDOW, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

make the slightest demand on the invention, should have come into vogue at the very moment when the craftsmen of original talent (at no time a too numerous class) had almost disappeared.

During the quarter of a century which followed the pestilence new foundations were few, the work which was undertaken being generally in the nature rather of remodelling than of fresh construction. Perhaps the earliest instance of this process of adapting the old work to the new fashion took place in the Abbey Church at Gloucester, an establishment which, in a time of almost universal depression, was specially fortunate in its finances. The body of the murdered Edward II., removed thither from Berkeley Castle by Abbot Thokey, continued, through a great part of Edward III.'s reign, to bring in a vast revenue. Hundreds and thousands of pilgrims came to worship at his tomb, and their offerings were spent, not on rebuilding the church, as the architects of previous ages would have done, but in recasing the surface, in forming new windows in the old walls, in inserting new glass, and generally, in clothing the twelfth-century body with a fourteenth-century dress. For such purposes nothing could have been handier than the Perpendicular forms, and, in particular, the Perpendicular panel. It does not, however, appear that any new forms of moulding were adopted at Gloucester, the architects being satisfied to repeat those of the preceding style. And we thus find the singular combination of mouldings that seem pure Decorated, and windows and walls that seem pure Perpendicular, while a pure Norman skeleton, though unseen, supports both.

The Perpendicular Style.

It is not difficult to summarise the more obvious characteristics of the style that was in act to supersede all the Decorated forms. As its name implies, perpendicularity is its salient feature, and the chief instrument by which this effect is produced is the straight-sided panel. It is not, indeed, that the Perpendicular architects, the remodellers and converters of so many old buildings, invented panelling—they merely raised it from obscurity and gave it predominance. Instead of the panel being sparsely used to decorate comparatively small and narrow spaces, the whole surface inside and outside—wall and arch, screen, parapet, basement, and buttress—are now covered with it. Even the windows, when, later on, the style gets thoroughly logical, become simply an arrangement of these panels pierced to let in the light. But in the earliest time, no less than in the latest, the perpendicular lines are there. As a rule, the partitions go straight up from sill to window-top. They

no longer bend and intersect above and cross each other in an ordered maze of springing curves. Even when minor arches are introduced into the window, the straight, upright mullions are generally forced through them, regardless of every canon of good taste, or else the perpendicularity is more queerly emphasised, by perching small panel-shaped openings on the heads of the larger lights. There is a certain consistency and strength of appearance in this upright stonework, and, as a vehicle for painted glass, these aggregates of panels — the only restriction on size being due to the fear of weakening the wall that supported the roof—were, no doubt, unrivalled. But they form a poor substitute for the elegant grouped lancets of the Early English, or for the flowing tracery of the Decorated style.

DEVONSHIRE FOLIAGE, STOKE-IN-TEIGNHEAD CHURCH.

The doorways are of one set type—a depressed arch, the depression increasing as the style advances, set in a square frame, and the whole enclosed in a label, outlining three sides of a rectangular oblong. The sides usually carry shafts, the label-moulding and the spandrels being generally more or less ornamented with such things as shields, foliage, animals, or grotesques. The square frame and label are, indeed, characteristic features, and entirely supersede the earlier segmental-headed doorways, although window-heads of that form are common enough. Stiffness and squareness extend their sway everywhere, ruling in things great and in things small, in things decorative and in things utilitarian. Every sort of detail, as well as the employment and arrangement of detail, is thus affected, and the divorce from Nature in the representation of all natural objects is almost absolute. An exception must be made, however, in regard to certain carvings in our western

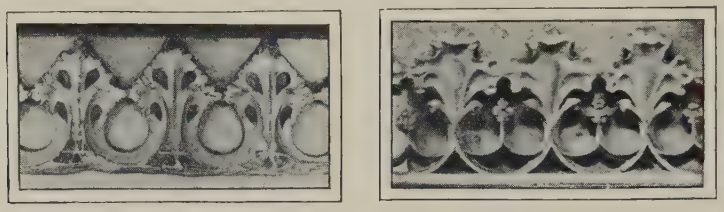
Doorways.

Ornament.

counties, which, though occurring in Perpendicular churches, and late in the style too, show an attempt to return to Nature. This work, which goes by the name of "Devonshire foliage," was no doubt a mere local development, probably due to the effort of some provincial artist to imitate in stone the wreaths of natural leaves and flowers, with which, on appropriate festivals, the church columns were decorated. With this exception the Perpendicular foliage is extraordinarily angular, not to say wooden. The crocket which we have noticed (Vol. I., p. 472) in the twelfth-century work of St. Hugh of Burgundy, lives on into late Perpendicular times, but it seems wholly to have forgotten the curled leaf from which it was derived. Yet, altered as it is, it looks almost an anachronism.

The Tudor Flower.

More characteristic is the so-called "Tudor flower," an ornament, we should say, that was in use before any Tudor aspired



TWO EXAMPLES OF THE TUDOR FLOWER.

to an alliance with a Plantagenet or a Plantagenet's widow. It is founded on the *fleur de lis*, alternated with a trefoil or ball, but the principal flower is more like a heraldic lozenge than a lily. It is poor in invention, but not unfrequently has a rich effect, particularly in late examples, as, for instance, in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, where the lily has an edging suggesting the fructification of the ceterach fern, and the small intermediate flower becomes an elaborate triple primrose. The battlement as an internal ornament for screens, rood-lofts, and the like, though by no means unknown to the Decorated artists, becomes quite fashionable now, and the date of such work can, in general, be fixed by the horizontal moulding which runs along the edge. This, in the Perpendicular period, is continuous, and carried not only along the top but down the sides, while the Decorated masons cut it off at each opening. The mouldings differ greatly from those of the preceding era, looking as if the

workmen no longer cared to do their best, as was their wont in the early days. In dealing with the Decorated style we noticed that there was a great falling-off in the depth and fineness of the cutting, but that the deterioration of workmanship, as well as the shallower forms, was to some extent compensated for by increased sumptuousness of surface ornament. In the Perpendicular style the mouldings are flatter still, and the pateræ, grotesques, animals, foliag e, and the like, whichadorn the wide shallow cornices, are rarely rich in effect or spirited in execution.

EDINGTON CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.

Early Perpendicular Work.

There are not many entire buildings, or entire parts of buildings, in this mixed or Transitional style, though additions and alterations in it are plentiful. Among the earliest are the choir and transepts of Gloucester, the cloisters and porch of the Treasury (formerly the Garter Chapter House) at Windsor, and Abbot Litlington's work at Westminster. William of Edington's church in the parish of the same name, dedicated in 1361, is one of the rare edifices which seem to have been wholly constructed in the Transitional time. Here we find, in the west front, a great window, which is neither quite Decorated nor quite Perpendicular in feeling. The reticulations are numerous,

and the lower openings in the window-head, instead of being in the long panel shape, are so short as almost to form a hexagon. There are, indeed, no mullions carried right through from bottom to top, but from the tops of the lowest tiers of arches into which the window is divided, straight mullions start up, to affirm the Perpendicular principle. The small west windows of the side aisles are, indeed, hardly to be distinguished from work of the previous age, and their diamonded heads are a stiff example of a form of Decorated tracery, though one more common in lay buildings than in churches. But if the window-forms at Edington are neither frankly Decorative nor frankly Perpendicular, the doorway is frankly both; nor could there be a more instructive example of the mixture of styles. The doors are not set in the square stone Perpendicular framework, but enclosed in the "segmental" headed Decorated arch. But the space between arch and door-head is filled with four typical Perpendicular panels, and the Decorated arch is itself enclosed in the square Perpendicular label.

The Work of William of Wykeham.

This William of Edington was a great builder, and later he began the modernisation of Winchester Cathedral. William of Edington developed, in fact, into William of Winchester, and the Transitional of the rector, doubtless, became the almost full-blown Perpendicular of the bishop. He died in 1366, but not before he had begun to clothe the Norman bones of Winchester with Perpendicular flesh, and his task was carried on without a break, and with greater energy, by his successor. It is to that successor, William of Wykeham, whom we may count the last of the great episcopal architects of the Middle Ages, that we owe the modernisation of three-fourths of the cathedral. But against a wrong which the antiquary finds hard to forgive, must be put, not only the imposing character of his work on the cathedral, but the construction of edifices like the chapels of Winchester and New College—really noble specimens of this ignoble style. Finest of all is the chapel at Oxford, which was begun in the first year of Richard II. and finished in the seventh year of the reign. As might be expected from its date, there is at least a hint of Transition in the building. The tall perpendicular mullions do not quite reach the window-tops unbroken, and the sub-arches spring from a central division as at Edington. A little later,

this arrangement was abandoned, as in the choir of York Minster, which, though commenced as early as 1361, was not completed till 1408.

The nave and western transepts of Canterbury, begun about 1380, also belong to the period of Transitional and early Perpendicular, but the distinguishing marks of the Transition are not very observable there. Though much of

GATEHOUSE THORNTON ABBEY

the work was contemporary with that of Winchester, Canterbury is much more full-blown in style. In both a Norman nave has been replaced by a Perpendicular one, but at Winchester this was effected by clothing the old piers with new ashlaring, the old mouldings being altered to look like new; while in Lanfranc's nave, which was ruinous, they were pulled down and built anew from the foundation. Other well-known examples are the Chapter-house at Howden in Yorkshire, and the gatehouse at Thornton Abbey in Lincolnshire. The cloisters at Gloucester are generally spoken of as belonging to this period, though the windows are probably earlier. But the traceried cloister roof, the progenitor of the

Roofs. later wonders in the royal chapels, may safely be ascribed to some early Perpendicular architect.

The redeeming features of the Perpendicular style are its towers and its elaborate stone vaulting, to which may be added its timbered roofs. Few of these last belong to the best and earliest period, but many are very fine, their late date notwithstanding. The roof of the palace at Eltham belongs to the reign of Henry IV. That of St. Stephen's, Norwich, one of the richest in all England, was built under Henry VIII., and a majority of the wooden roofs (which are oftenest found in the eastern counties) date from the beginning of the sixteenth century. But one noble example of the fourteenth century remains at Westminster—the roof that covers "the great Hall of Rufus," the scanty remnants of whose Norman work have been brought to light in recent years. The hall was practically rebuilt from its foundations in the last years of Richard, and retains to this day, both in the carving of the walls and the timbers of the roof, the form then given to

WESTMINSTER HALL.

FORTIFIED RECTORY, EMBLETON, NORTHUMBERLAND.

it. Such open timber roofs are incomparably more beautiful than any vaulted work of the same period, and show that, in the matter of carpentering at least, we are not wiser than our fathers were five centuries ago.

Secular Architecture.

The lay architecture of the reign of Richard, and the last years of Edward III., is not very distinctive. The evolution of the country mansion from the castle went on, but it cannot be traced step by step with sufficient accuracy to admit of the story being told with anything like regular sequence. Taste and fancy played an increasing part, now that the uses of private war had finally ceased to be a dominating consideration. On the Scottish border alone was it necessary to live in a state of alarms. Elsewhere the determining factor was the personality of the proprietor. As a result, we have the noble hall at Penshurst, forming part of what was essentially a mansion-house in the reign of Edward III., built at the very beginning of the Perpendicular period, and contemporary with the very earliest work at Gloucester; while at Bodiam, which was not begun till the middle of the reign of Richard, we have a type, though a late one, of the impregnable feudal

castle. Subsequent alterations and additions, though they have left the hall at Penshurst[1] comparatively intact, make it hard to trace the outline of the old buildings, but it is clear that Sir John Devereux's manor-house could never have been capable of military defence. On the other hand, in Bodiam,[2] built by a veteran of the French wars, who had made a fortune by plunder, we have a stronghold that must have delighted the eye of a soldier and a free-lance. Massive walls with round towers at the angles and square towers in the centres at the sides look down on a moat of prodigious width and depth, filled to the brim with water. The great gateway is reached by a narrow causeway, and a long drawbridge defended by a barbican tower. The gate itself had three portcullises (one remains *in situ*), and the vaulted roof over the intervening spaces is pierced with meurtrières. Internally the arrangement is like a compressed Oxford college. On one side are the chapel, and beyond it probably the stables, and on the other side of a small court the living-rooms, the banquet-hall, the kitchens and ovens. Between, and alongside of, these two types, there were, unquestionably, all sorts of buildings erected at this time. Some like Bolton Castle, in the North Riding, were obviously not intended for military purposes, though retaining the military form. Others, like Dartington Hall, in Devon, were purely private houses with extensive farm-buildings attached. Dartington is also remarkable as showing the persistence of old forms, for the windows (which are of four lights) are built with shouldered arches, recalling the shouldered lintels of Carnarvon Castle, and carry us back to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the vogue of the purest Early English. But such buildings as Bodiam reflect the arrogance, or at least the eccentricity, of the individual rather than the feeling of the times. That was in the direction of greater comfort, as is shown by the spacious double courts at Bolton and elsewhere; and this feeling grew with internal wealth and quiet, and was promoted by the increased intercourse with the higher civilisation of Italy and France.

[[1] Near Edenbridge, Kent. *See* the illustration, p. 167. [2] Near Robertsbridge, Sussex; between Tunbridge Wells and Hastings.]

BODIAM CASTLE, NEAR ROBERTSBRIDGE, SUSSEX

H. FRANK HEATH. Literature and the Drama.

In continuation of the remarks in the last chapter, it will be convenient to say a few words upon the further development of dramatic literature down to 1500. A few mysteries, such as "The Burial and Resurrection of Christ," and the "Conversion of St. Paul," were produced in the North and Midlands during the fifteenth century. The latter, in seven-lined stanzas, is interesting because its subject is new, and because it is divided into sections which foreshadow the later division of plays into acts. Parallel with these in time and place (East Midlands) there grew up a new species of drama which was the outcome of the medieval love for allegory and the personification of abstract ideas. The Morality was the first step towards secular drama, and it was a false one. But this excursion into an artistic *cul-de-sac* at least taught the playwrights independence. The fight of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Cardinal Virtues for the human soul, a life-long battle, is the theme of the earliest and best Moralities Humanity, his virtues and vices, are personified in the attempt to materialise what, after all, was only the general thought underlying the old collective Mysteries. This moralising tendency is even traceable in the *Expositor* of the Chester plays, and in the *Contemplacio*, *Veritas*, etc., of the Coventry "Salutation and Conception." The earliest extant[1] Morality (*temp.* Henry VI.) is the typical "Castell of Perseverance," the hero of which, *Humanum Genus*,[2] is beset from his birth till his final dissolution, by *Mundus*, *Belyal*, *Caro*,[3] and their henchmen. He is only saved at the last after an argumentative scene between Mercy and others, similar to one in the Coventry "Salutation." Other plays of the same type are "Mind, Will, and Understanding," "Mankind," "Mundus et Infans," and "Everyman." This last (*temp.* Edward IV.) was so popular that it was printed four times in the early sixteenth century. The Buddhist story of friendship tried, known to the West in the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, forms the basis of the action, but the idea of suggesting the manner of a man's life by the light of his death-scene,

[1] *Cf.* Wycliffe, *De Officio Pastorali* (c. 1378), ch. xv., p. 429, ed. Matthew; and Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 137 (first mention of a Morality).

[2] *I.e.* Mankind.] [3] The World, the Devil, the Flesh.]

instead of presenting its whole course, marks a real advance in dramatic art. Lyric Verse.

To return to the fourteenth century, we find in lyric poetry, not only a constant increase in complexity of stanza, but a growing tendency to imitate the sensuous beauty of the French singers. This is quite as true of the religious as of the lay lyric. Excellent examples of this kind of writing, religious, erotic, and political, are to be found in a MS. collection[1] made in the fourteenth century. Among the best known political songs are those upon the evil times of Edward II.[2] and the famous songs of the north-countryman Laurence Minot. These last are ten in number, and celebrate the wars of Edward III. with burning patriotism and contemptuous hatred for the French, and still more for the Scottish. The verse he writes is of two kinds —a short-lined metre, sometimes tail-rime, sometimes short couplets; and the fluctuating Middle English Alexandrine, with strong cæsural pause connected by continued but not cross-rime into strophes, a typical measure for the wandering gleeman. In both forms he makes great use of alliteration, but naturally with more effect in the longer line.

The new national spirit found its expression, however, in other than political song. The "good old times" of the twelfth century, when the Midlands were infested by outlaws, seemed to the men at the close of the next to be clothed with attractive, romantic colouring—a mantle cast over the reality by age. Round the stories of these men was gathered all the rough sense of justice, of revolt against oppression by the rich and the clergy, of sympathy with the struggling poor, which were a sign of the nation's new-springing life. Trappings of the court romances, incidents from the lives of historic and legendary heroes, were found useful in supplying details of colour and circumstance; while the very verse, the well-known ballad-metre, is but the worn-down derivative of the septenar so common in southern romances. And thus arose the Robin Hood ballads in the country around their beloved Sherwood. They became so popular that they were mentioned by Langland with blame[3] in 1377; and by Chaucer[4] as much appreciated of Pandarus in Ballads.

[1] MS. Harl. No. 2253.
[2] "Political Songs," ed. T. Wright, Camden Soc., pp. 195 and 323.
[3] Piers Plowman, B., Passus V. l. 402. [4] "Troil. and Cres." v. 168.

1382—the first mention that we find of them in literature. In close relation to these, standing midway between the true romance,[1] to the form and verse of which it has much similarity, and the purely democratic Robin Hood cycle, with the spirit of which it is saturated, is the "Tale of Gamelyn," a story Chaucer probably intended to use as basis for his "Yeoman's Tale." After his death it was included in the "Canterbury Tales" as that of the "Cook," which the author had left with no more than its opening. The same story was long afterwards used by Thomas Lodge for his novel "Rosalind" (1590), in its turn the source of "As You Like It." "Gamelyn" is written in much the same dialect as that of Chaucer, but in the South-West Midlands a group of romances appeared about this time (the middle of the fourteenth century), which aimed at a large and popular audience by making use of the old alliterative, unrimed long line. The West had never come so completely under Norman and French influence as other parts of the country, and the old English measure had never completely died out. Both these facts, and the failure of the ordinary romance measures to reach any really artistic development in face of the linguistic disorder, rendered a revival likely; though phonetic changes in the language, the substitution of a logical for an artificial sentence-stress, and the change in many cases of word-accent, made, even here, an exact adherence to the old rule an impossibility. As it is, many Romance words are accentuated on the Germanic principle in these poems, though in ordinary usage this was not the case for more than a hundred years later; and naturally the total effect upon the ear is very different from the dignified roll of the older, slower line. The earliest and most important of these poems is "William of Palern," written by a poet named William, to the order of Sir Humphrey de Bowne (Bohun), Earl of Hereford (1355–61). Somewhat later, probably, is "The Chevelere Assigne," an English version of the Lohengrin saga, based on the French "Chevalier au signe." Fragments of a Graal romance called "Joseph of Arimathea," and of an Alexander-romance in this metre, have also survived. Remembering

[1] Contemporary examples are "Octavian" and "Sir Ferumbras," the latter being partly written in the same verse as "Gamelyn," *i.e.* Middle English Alexandrine, with the addition of middle rime.

this revival, it will only seem natural that William Langland, a man from the South-West Midlands, writing his popular allegory in the second half of the century, should use the same measure. But of this more presently.

"Sire Gawain."

Also in the West, but this time probably in Lancashire, was the home of the poet who did most towards the higher development of this form of romance, and more for the beautifying of Middle English poetry as a whole, than any writer before Chaucer. He was born about 1330. Like young Chaucer, the poet of the "Gawain" was dominated by courtly ideals; like him he had a love for Nature in all her moods, and clothed both with that beauty of language and melody of line, for which he, like his young London contemporary, had so fine a sense. But, unlike Chaucer, he was not one of the world's great poets, for he always had a clearly realised didactic aim in his work, and did not trust to the innate quality of his subject, and still less to the innate purity of his mind, as sufficient assurances of a right tendency. He was only saved from being a commonplace allegorist by his love of form, and a rich fancy that saw in every aspect of life and nature a symbol of the higher life. His chief, and only non-religious work, "Sire Gawain and the Grene Knight" (*c.* 1370), is the first of that school of romances of which "The Faery Queene" is the greatest example; in which the adventures of the heroes are all allegorical of the struggle of man against the world, the flesh, and the devil. "Sire Gawain" is one of Arthur's knights, and the story is of plighted word, of tried and victorious chastity; the whole adventure being due to the fairy Morgana, who intends it as a warning to Guinevere.[1] The verse is a skilful combination of the old alliterative line into strophes of unequal length, by means of a ballad-quatrain introduced by a line of one accent, rhyming with the second and fourth. Equally remarkable is his "Pearl," probably the earliest of his extant works, an elegy on the death of his two-year-old child. He sees her in his vision, the personification of all that is pure and innocent, on the far side of a clear stream, which prevents him from approaching her; and a conversation between them finally

"Pearl."

[1] Possibly the poet also had in mind the relations of Edward III. to the Countess of Salisbury, which led to the foundation of the Order of the Garter. —*Cf.* "Pearl," ed. I. Gollancz (David Nutt, 1891), p. xli. *seqq.*

leads him to resignation. The form into which the poem is cast is most complex, beautiful in itself, and most skilfully carried out, but scarcely suited to the simple innocence of the child who is his theme. The strophes are of twelve lines, with four accents, rhymed according to the scheme *abab abab bc bc;* the last word of every stanza in each section of the poem being

SIRE GAWAIN AND THE GRENE KNIGHT (MS. Nero. A. x.).

repeated in the first line of the next stanza, and again as refrain. The sections, of which there are twenty, each with five strophes (the fifteenth has six), are also connected by the repetition of the same or some allied word, while the last line of the poem differs but slightly from the first. The verse is certainly Romance in origin, and, as Mr. Gollancz remarks, has much in common with the sonnet; at the same time, there is little doubt that the author learnt to know it from a rather older

contemporary poet on the Welsh border, whose work shows the same qualities and characteristics less highly developed.[1] The names of both poets are unknown. Was the "philosophical Strode," to whom, with the "moral Gower," Chaucer dedicated his "Troilus and Cryseyde," the Gawain poet?[2] Mr. Gollancz

SCENE FROM "PEARL" (MS. Nero. A. 'x.).

thinks it possible. His "Cleanness" and "Patience" are didactic alliterative poems, written later, with vivid imaginative descriptions of the Flood and Jonah.

[1] *Cf.* "Early English Poems and Lives of Saints," by Furnivall, Phil. Soc. Trans., pp. 118, 124, 130, 133.

[2] The methods of the two poets were sufficiently in contrast, but Chaucer can scarcely have failed to appreciate his contemporary's mastery of technique; and, curiously enough, both "Gawain" and "Troilus" are romances in which

Chaucer: His Life and Training

About the time that the elder poet was beginning to write, possibly in the house of some nobleman of Lancashire, the name of the young man, Geoffrey Chaucer, must often have been on people's lips at the court in London. He was one of the yeomen or servants of the King's chamber, and had won golden opinions for himself by his character and appearance. He was attractive in person, he was good-tempered, and had a dreamy expression of face which seemed to suggest the deep feelings of which he was capable. This quiet mien, however, did not prevent him from being an excellent companion, complaisant and modest, but withal lively, though sometimes given to silence. Now and again he would show a roguishness which took his companions by surprise, and gave promise, could they have appreciated it, of the great humorist to come later. He was known to be devoted to his books; indeed, he would often try to woo the god of sleep by reading in his Ovid or some other old manuscript; and his friends had read many a roundel and virelai that he himself had written in French, and even in English. But he was no mere bookworm, for before he was twenty-one he had already seen a good deal of the world. He was sprung from a citizen's family: his father John was a wine merchant in Thames Street, and Agnes, his mother, a niece of Hamo de Copton, a moneyer. From earliest childhood he must have heard stories of the court, and the great world that lay beyond London;[1] and, at the same time, have seen and heard much in his father's shop which recurred to him in after years, when he was painting the democratic life of the times in his Tales. The Chaucers seem to have settled in Ipswich before the grandfather Robert came to London, and they must have been of Norman extraction, as the name shows (Chaucier=stocking-weaver). The poet was born about 1340,[2] for in 1386 he de-

the plot turns on a mental conflict. In "Gawain" the hero is tried and is victorious in all essentials; in "Troilus" the heroine is tried and fails. Of such a plot "Gawain" is almost the first, certainly the finest example in England before "Troilus and Cressida." What more natural than that Chaucer should have dedicated his first attempt at mental analysis to its author, though even then the sly smile was not absent?—*Cf.* "Troilus and Cressida, v. 267.

[1] In 1338 his father had accompanied the King and Queen to Cologne and Antwerp.

[2] The date formerly given, 1328, was a mere guess: *cf.* Professor Hales's life of the poet in the Dictionary of National Biography.]

scribed himself as forty years old and over, and as having borne arms for twenty-seven years. As a child he escaped the Black Death of 1348–49, though it must have left an impression on his memory. When sixteen, or thereabouts, he was made *squier* (page) to Elizabeth of Ulster, wife of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, daughter-in-law to the King, and thus came into direct contact with the court. About three years later he went with Edward's invading army to France (1359), and so learnt something of the most terrible side of life. This expedition was not exactly distinguished for its heroic deeds, nor for the success which it won. But still it was full enough of incident, which was new to Chaucer, and which certainly did not escape him in spite of the habit he had of walking with eyes cast on the ground. He took his part in those wearisome, useless marches and counter-marches through the north of France, and was present at the unsuccessful siege of Rheims, whilst the less busy hours not occupied in raids for booty and the like were enlivened by hawking and feudal sports; till at last he was taken prisoner on one of these minor expeditions, and ransomed by the King (March 1, 1360) for a smaller sum than he paid at the same time for a horse.[1] This was a rich experience for a youth of twenty. He then became a valet of the King's household, having under his care the royal bed and board, for which he was rewarded in 1367 with a pension of twenty marks (£140) a year. The tone of society, as he saw it at the court, cannot have been without effect upon one who was so completely the child of his time as Chaucer.

His Works.

The brilliant trappings of chivalry already on the decline, and therefore laying more stress on externals than the inner chivalric ideal; the increase in luxury in every branch of life leading to an overloaded ornamentation in architecture, decoration, dress, and gardening alike; the anxiety to keep in check the unauthorised emotions and the consequent increase in seriousness and worldly wisdom; all this coincident with the old chivalric forms helped not only to mould the personal character of the poet, but offered him many interesting types of humanity, such as a time of transition alone can produce. The relations of the various grades of society to each other, and, above all, of men to women and of women to men, in

[1] The former sum was £16, the latter, £16 13s. 8d.

each of them, could not fail to be of deepest interest to his humorous observing spirit. As we should expect from what has been said, the first[1] extant work from his pen, "The Boke of the Duchesse" (1369), is wholly courtly in style, and serious and romantic in method of treatment. The poem is in form of a vision after the approved fashion of the "Roman de la Rose," and, as in "Pearl," the lost beloved is made once more to meet in a beautiful landscape the man she has left behind. Here, however, the lady is the Duchess Blanche, wife of Chaucer's patron, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; and the verse[2] is, with the exception of two short lyrical stanzas (ll. 475–86), in short rimed couplets. The poem has many of the faults of an early effort. Its many learned references, its long-spun allegories, its philosophical platitudes, all tend to destroy the effect aimed at. But a real power of characterisation, and the germs at least of the poet's later dramatic power, are evident. Though the speeches are too long and too full of digressions, the dialogue between the poet and the unknown knight is well conceived, but the retarded crisis intended to come as a surprise fails of its effect, because too long postponed. Among his early works may probably be included a roundel and a virelai,[3] both of which breathe the hopeless burning love expressed in the "Compleynte to Pite" (1370–72), the first poem in which Chaucer makes use of his famous seven-lined stanza, often called "rhyme royal," because it was subsequently used by James I. of Scotland. In this poem he tells how he intended to give "Pity" a petition against "Cruelty" for depriving him of his love, but found Pity dead, and Cruelty regnant. Eight years long, and more,[5] had Chaucer suffered from this hopeless passion. Brandl, on

[1] There is some divergence of opinion amongst authorities as to the chronology of Chaucer's works. Where this is so it shall be noted. Skeat, for instance, makes "Chaucer's A B C" the first work, and dates it 1366, followed by "The Compleynte to Pite" in 1367, whilst Brandl puts "The Compleynte" first, then the "A B C." "The Boke of the Duchesse" is thus third according to these two scholars. The order adopted in the text is that of Ten Brink.

[2] Borrowed like much of the matter from Machault's "Dit de la fontaine amoureuse."

[3] A "virelai" is a lyric poem in short lines with only two rhymes: the first two lines recur in the course of the poem. [4] vi. 304, 305.

[5] *Cf.* "Boke of the Duchesse l. 37 *seqq.*

Holde he ỳ duaunt was mayden marie
And his lone flowre and fruitifie

Al yoth his lyfe be queynt ye resemblaunce
Of him hay in me so fresh lyfelynesse
Yat to putte othre men in remembraunce
Of his psone I haue heere his lyknesse
To make to vs entre in sothfastnesse
Yat yei yt haue of him left yought & reynde
By his peynture may atteyn him fynde

The ymages yt in ỳ churche been
Maken folk penke on god & on his seyntes
Whan ye ymages yei be holden & seen
Were oft vnsyte of hem amongst restreyntes
Of youghtes gode Whan a ping depeynt is
Or entuled if men take of it heede
Thoght of ye lyknesse it wil in hym brede

OCCLEVE'S PORTRAIT OF CHAUCER (MS. Harl. 4866).

insufficient grounds, thinks the lady was the Duchess Blanche herself, and that Chaucer was asking for her generosity, not her love; certain it is that she was of far higher rank than he, and that he never spoke happily of his own relations to women. Here, again, the "Roman de la Rose" is the source of the main ideas; the verse, however, which consists of heroic lines of five accents, arranged thus, *ababbcc*, comes from Provence, though Chaucer has made it his own by the skill shown in its construction and the consistency with which he uses a new rhyme for the last couplet.[1]

Foreign Influences on Chaucer.

Already in 1370 he had been sent abroad on some important mission by the king, and in 1372–3 he was again despatched, this time to Italy, to conclude a commercial treaty with the Doge of Genoa. This journey marks an epoch in his literary development, the commencement of what is often called the "Period of Italian influence," whilst the previous one is spoken of as that of French influence. In the same way, the years from 1385 to his death in 1400 are called the "English Period," or that of "Ripeness." These terms are useful if it is remembered that the words "Italian" and "French" are not mutually exclusive, but imply that the literature of Italy exerted in the second portion of his life an influence side by side with that of France, and taught him truths that he was unable to learn from the latter. He possibly met Petrarch at Padua during this sojourn in Italy, and from him he obtained, either directly or through Boccaccio, the story of the patient Griseldis, which he afterwards translated literally from the Latin, and still later made use of as the "Clerke's Tale." Dante and Boccaccio he studied carefully, borrowing from the latter two complete epics and any number of minor suggestions, and learning from the former much about the technicalities of his art. Petrarch's art was too refined and sophisticated to make much appeal to the sturdy manliness of the English poet; by Dante's greatness as a stylist he was deeply impressed, though scarcely capable of appreciating his genius to the full. Boccaccio, the least of the three as a poet, but greatest as a story-teller, was certainly the most sympathetic to him.

In 1374 Chaucer was made Comptroller of Customs in the

[1] *Cf.* Ten Brink, "Chaucer's Sprache," § 347.

port of London, a post which he filled unaided for ten years, in addition to which he was several times abroad on various errands, amongst others another journey to Italy in 1378. We know that in 1374 he was already married to a wife, Philippa, was settled in a house near Aldgate, and was rewarded by the Duke of Lancaster for the services of himself and his wife with a pension of £10 (£100 of our money). Whether the marriage was a recent one or no is uncertain. A Philippa Chaucer was one of the ladies of the Chamber to the Queen in 1366. Was Chaucer his wife's maiden name, and was she, perhaps, a descendant of the Richard Chaucer whom the poet's grandmother married as her third husband? or was the poet already married in 1366? Neither view is free from difficulties. On the whole, the former seems to agree better with the known facts. **Chaucer in Middle Life.**

Fortunately, the course of the poet's inner life is easier to trace. About the time of the first Italian journey he passed through a mental crisis which cast at first a serious and religious tone over his thoughts and tastes, leading in time to a higher, more independent view of life, which made possible at a later date, when his inborn *joie de vivre* returned, the humoristic and kindly ironical view of men and things, which are the distinctive marks of his genius. This crisis may have been the result of many concurrent causes. The great religious revival under Wycliffe, which was then at its height, cannot have been without its effect. The weariness of spirit, induced by his secret unanswered love and the hollowness of an intriguing court-life, doubtless helped. Not least was the influence of Dante, which is seen in the legend of St. Cecilia, translated into "rhyme royal" at this time from the "Legenda aurea" of Jacobus à Voragine, possibly with the help of a version contained in another cycle of saints' lives, and incorporated later in the "Canterbury Tales" as the story of the second nun (III. 29). About this time, too, must be placed his translation of Innocent's "De Contemptu Mundi," now lost, though fragments were doubtless made use of in later works, and that of Origen's "Homilia de Maria Magdalena." This work is mentioned in the prologue to the "Legend of Good Women," but is not extant. Ten Brink would place here his "A B C," a free translation of "Le Pélérinage de la Vie **A New Phase.**

Humaine," by Guillaume de Deguileville. The work is very uneven in quality, and has an artificiality about it which seriously detracts from its evidently earnest tone.

The purely religious phase was not likely to last long with a man of Chaucer's temperament, but his next work, a translation of Boccaccio's "Teseide" into "rhyme royal," made between 1374 and 1377, was completely in keeping with his serious tone of mind. Though only fragments of the original version of "Palamon and Arcite" remain embedded in later poems, such as "Anelida and the False Arcite" and "Troilus and Cressida,[1] yet they are sufficient to show that it was treated throughout in the serious romantic tone. Two noble kinsmen, Palamon and Arcite, love and fight for the person of one lady, Emelye. Arcite is thrown from his horse at the moment of victory, and the vanquished Palamon wins the prize, which his brother, with the fuller knowledge of the next world, sees to be worthless. In this spirit it was that Chaucer made about this time a prose translation of Boethius' "De Consolatione Philosophiae," a book which must have encouraged his natural tendency to intellectual scepticism, at the same time that it instilled him with neo-platonic ideas.

"Palamon and Arcite."

In this frame of mind the poet was found when John of Gaunt, his old patron, prompted him to produce his next two works. The first of these, "The Compleynt of Mars," an occasional piece, written in the spring of 1379, describes in skilful astrological allegory a recent court intrigue between John Holland (Mars) and Isabella of Castile (Venus), John of Gaunt's sister-in-law. Chaucer also began about this time his translation of the "Roman de la Rose," now lost. That the latter parts of this especially were not calculated to encourage the romantic spirit is certain.

Anyway, from this time, though he could be serious on occasion, and never lost his appreciation and honour for the "eternal womanly," yet he could never suffer the existence of anything bordering on sentimentality in his work, without placing in sharp contrast to it the other commonplace and material side of the question.[2] And so, when dissatisfied with

[1] *Cf.* Ten Brink, "Chaucer-Studien," p. 39 *ff.*; "Englische-Studien," II., 230.

[2] This has been well shown by Ten Brink ("Chaucer-Studieu," p. 45).

PROLOGUE TO THE CANTERBURY TALES (MS. 686).
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

his "Palamon and Arcite," which certainly none but his most intimate friends had seen, he reconstructed the whole tale in manner suitable for the mouth of the knight, and introduced many a humorous and ironical remark into the tragic love-story, which was not only consistent with the experienced old knight's character, but also with his own view of life. In 1377 Edward III. had died, and in January, 1382, the young King Richard married the Princess Anne of Luxemburg, daughter of the Emperor Charles V. Whilst the negotiations were still proceeding Chaucer wrote his allegory, "The Parlament of Fowles," in support of the king's suit. The princess is represented as a hen eagle wooed by three tiercel eagles, who have come with the other birds under guidance of Nature to choose their mates on St. Valentine's Day. The tiercelets represent Richard II., a Bavarian prince, and a margrave of Meissen,[1] with whom Anne had been betrothed at different times of her childhood. In the poem, Nature, who shows much in common with Boethius' Platonic conception of her, declares the "formel egle" (*i.e.* the princess) old enough to make her own choice, and she accordingly decides to delay decision for a year.

"The Parlament of Fowles."

The poem shows Dante's influence again at work. The garden seen in the poet's dream is as beautiful, but not as carelessly joyous, as the Garden of the Rose, for over the portal is an inscription of the same intent as the famous "per me si va nella città dolente,"[2] and he enters not alone as of yore with careless ease, but under guidance of the dead Scipio, as Dante had entered the Inferno with Virgil. The fragment of Cicero's "De Civitate" known in the Middle Ages as the "Somnium Scipionis," had influenced Chaucer in this matter as it had Dante before him. The poem, however, does not lack an Aristophanic touch in the remarks passed by the other birds upon the royal wooing.

"Troilus and Cryseyde."

In the same year as his "Parlament of Fowles" most authorities agree in placing "Troilus and Cryseyde," the second of the epics borrowed from Boccaccio. In the "Filostrato" the Italian had enlarged an episode of the Troy saga into an important work. Chaucer, without altering the story in any

[1] Ten Brink, "Englische Studien," I., 288.

[2] "By me the way lies to the city of sorrow."—"Inferno," III., 1.]

1399]

important particular, and without shifting the centre of interest in the tale, changed this epic into a poem, no less important and, if somewhat less harmonious, yet showing a far deeper knowledge of human nature. "Troilus" is the first analytical novel in the English language, and loses nothing by comparison with the work of Richardson and George Eliot, whilst it gains in its total effect when compared with Shakespeare's play. This advantage which it shows over the latter work, however, is due to the greater suitability of the story for narrative rather than dramatic form, not to the superior genius of the earlier poet. The story is one of the tragic fate awaiting a gentle, lovable character, for whom the influences of time and present impressions are too great to be resisted. Cressida's grief at leaving Troilus is described with ironical compassion, yet not without sorrow for the weakness of mankind; Troilus, the fervent Romeo-like lover, learns at last to laugh at the pettiness and worthlessness of the world; and in Pandarus the dramatic development of the story is centred, whilst the dash of naturalism is heightened in colour, but refined, with enormous gain in ironical humour, by making him an old man, instead of a young one as in Boccaccio. This was Chaucer's "litel tragedye," as he called it, praying God at the same time to grant him strength to write a "comedy," *i.e* a story with a happy ending.

"The Hous of Fame."

The prayer was answered when he had written "The Hous of Fame," a vision-poem which shows the influence of Dante more strongly than ever. The poem was commenced December 10th, 1383, and is a playful, fantastic allegory, flowing over with good spirits, and yet showing beneath the surface an intensely personal, serious tone shadowing the unspoken dreams of the hard-worked poet. In many details of the poem we are reminded that Chaucer was thinking of the "Divine Comedy," and the "House of Fame" stands, as Ten Brink has finely remarked, in the same sort of relation to the former gigantic work of genius as the caprice of my lady Fame to the eternal justice of God. Chaucer fittingly returned to his old short-lined couplets for the last time in the fabric of this airy vision. In the next year the king allowed him to appoint a temporary deputy at the Customs-house, and three months later (February, 1385) this permission was made permanent. This

date may be taken to mark Chaucer's entry upon his third and last period of literary activity, for the leisure which he had now gained led to the production of a number of important works—two of them being series of stories enclosed within a common frame,[1] but neither of them ever finished. The "Legende of Gode Women," or "Seyntes Legende of Cupyde," as he himself calls it, commenced in 1385, stands at the entrance of this period, and stretches out a hand to both past and future. It reminds us of his early work because its spirit is the purely chivalric and romantic one which he had left behind in his youth, and for the last time he here makes use of the allegorical vision. It shows the influence of Italy, for it consists of a series of tales connected by a slight bond into one poem, and it anticipates the "Canterbury Tales" in this respect as well as in its use of the heroic couplet. The idea of writing a set of poems in praise of women who had been the martyrs of love was the queen's, for he sings her praises in the carefully executed prologue as the leader of "the ladies good ninetene," as he does in the person of Alcestis, and under the figure of the daisy. The translation of the "Roman de la Rose" and the "Troilus and Cryseyde" had not pleased her, and Chaucer may well have felt bound to make amends by writing this work in return for her advocacy in the matter of the deputy at the Customs-house. It is at any rate curious that only nine of the whole series planned are in existence, and that the queen survived just that number of years after the commencement of the poem. The general plan of the work is based upon Boccaccio's "De mulieribus claris,"[2] and to the same poet is due the general form of the "Canterbury Tales," on which Chaucer was at work, and to which he was giving his main thought and energy at this time.

The "Legende of Gode Women."

The "Decamerone" offered an example of a series of separate tales told by a company of men and women all come together with the same object; but here the likeness ceases. The object of the pilgrims was a worthy, not a selfish one, and the scene is ever shifting, not a quiet villa garden. The characters, too, are drawn from all sorts and conditions of

The "Canterbury Tales."

[1] Like the "Decameron" of Boccaccio.

[2] "Concerning Famous Women."

The Knight.

The Miller.

The Reeve.

The Cook.

The Man of Law.

The Wife of Bath.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.

(*By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere.*)

men, except the very highest and the lowest, not all from the same rank of society as in Boccaccio's book. The idea of representing the various grades of the commonwealth, and of making them undertake a pilgrimage, is without doubt due to Langland's "Piers Plowman" (p. 308), but in the method of adaptation the master's hand is again visible, for the goal of their journey is not an abstract Truth, but the ancient city and cathedral of Canterbury with all its ecclesiastical and historical memories; and the power of characterisation is far greater and more dramatic than that of the Malvern poet, though even Langland had gone much farther in this direction than the allegorical names of his personages imply. It is not impossible that Gower in a negative way had also helped to call this masterpiece into existence, for in 1383, or thereabouts, the "Confessio Amantis," Gower's great English work, had been commenced. This work came into direct competition with the "Legend of Good Women" in subject matter, and was far more ambitious in scheme and extent than anything Chaucer had yet produced. Did "that last infirmity of noble mind," or at least the desire not to be overshot in his own particular province, act as a spur to the rather easy-going poet?

The Pilgrams.

Chaucer's motley company start from the Tabard Inn in Southwark, under guidance of "mine host," a man who is genial enough, but quite capable of preserving the requisite degree of discipline. His following consists of the perfect gentle knight, just back from the wars which he has waged in all parts of the world, who has laid aside his armour but not his rust-stained jerkin to join this pilgrimage with his son, who is little more than a youth, is dressed in the latest court fashion, and is *au fait* in every point of chivalric etiquette. One servant only has this worthy knight, a sturdy yeoman-forester with arms well kept, well versed in woodcraft and the tales of Robin Hood. Another gentleman is the epicurean old franklin, well loved for his hospitality. The ecclesiastical profession is well represented. The prioress, "full simple and coy," is the most attractive of these. She is a very refined, amiable, and tender-hearted lady, who takes pains to be dignified, is very fond of her dogs, and is decidedly well favoured. With her was another nun, who acted as her

The Squire.

The Summoner.

The Clerk.

The Doctor.

The Pardoner.

The Merchant.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.

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chaplain, and three priests.[1] A monk there was who had but one fault, forgetfulness of the rules of his order, and an inordinate love of hunting. He was well mounted, well dressed, and well fed. Smooth-tongued Friar Hubert is no less impressive a personage, and his acquaintances are drawn from every class but the poor. The appearance of the summoner with his fire-red pimpled face, narrow eyes and loose morals, is as little attractive as that of his friend the effeminate pardoner, with his beardless chin, goggle eyes, dank yellow hair, and squeaky nasal voice. None the less, however, is the latter a good man of business, with a wonderful power of persuading people to buy his pardons. This unedifying group of clerics is contrasted with the unselfish, patient, zealous country parson, who is learned but poor, and "Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve, He taught, and ferst he folwed it himselve." It is not without meaning that this man is made brother to the ploughman whom Langland had taken as his hero, and that the tales should close with his sermon upon penitence as the "good way" for men to walk, on their spiritual pilgrimage. The canon and the canon's yeoman join the cavalcade as they near Canterbury.

The other learned professions are represented by an Oxford scholar, who cares more for books than aught else, and hence grows not fat; a serjeant of the law, a clever, learned, and experienced gentleman, who is of very different opinions with regard to money from the scholar, and a doctor of physic, equally fond of money, but a skilful practitioner, and a moderate liver. The manciple, who is quite as good a business man, and the wife of Bath, the naïvely outspoken autobiographer, much experienced in the holy estate of matrimony, belong to no particular group. Business and labour find their representatives in a merchant, a sailor, a cook, a weaver, a dyer, an upholsterer, a haberdasher, a carpenter, a miller, a reeve, and the ploughman already mentioned. But these are little more than sketches, and either did not attract the poet so much, or he

[1] This is inconsistent with the earlier statement (Prol., l. 24) that twenty-nine pilgrims assembled at the Tabard, for three priests would bring the number up to thirty-one. This is one of the evidences that the final revision even of the Prologue was never made. For the nun-chaplaincy *cf.* Sussex Archaeol. Soc., ix., p. 15: "An Episcopal Injunction to the Prioress of Easeburn in 1478," and Dugdale, Mon. III., p. 415, in a report on the Elstow nunnery.

The Friar.

The Sailor.

Chaucer.

The Franklin.

The Prioress.

The Monk.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.

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intended to reserve their nearer characterisation for the prologues of their respective tales; an intention which, however, never found fulfilment, if it ever existed. Finally there is Chaucer himself, a figure of distinct value in the composition, both from a realistic point of view, and because the consciousness we have of the poet's presence all through lends extra point to the irony and pathos of the tales. Thus there are in all thirty-four characters.

Structure of the Poem.

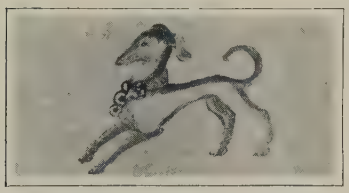
The greatest care is taken not only to bring the various tales into the most effective contrast by the order in which they are recounted, but also to put into the mouth of each speaker just such a tale as shall thoroughly suit, and thus help to illustrate his or her character. In this way Chaucer was enabled to make use of the long literary experience and of much of the actual production of his whole life. Nothing was thrown away. The various phases, fashions, and modes of thought and work through which he had passed, and which were his no longer, were thus no less useful than the work produced in the period of full ripeness. With an intense dramatic sense, unequalled until the end of the sixteenth century, he made the varied sympathies and tastes of his long artistic development expressive of the characters of his personages, and turned in this way even the faults and weaknesses of poems written in the past to account. Thus the hazy, romantic, completely mediæval tale of "Griseldis" is given to the Oxford scholar; the well-meaning sermon on "Repentance" is put into the worthy parson's mouth; and with excellent irony the interminably dull and moralising "Tale of Meliboeus," the "*litel* thing in prose," is told by himself, after the company have rebelled against the satirical skit upon the tales of the ballad-mongers for its wearisomeness. Out of the frying-pan into the fire, it seems to us, and did no doubt to him, but to the average mind of Chaucer's day the "treatise" was acceptable enough.

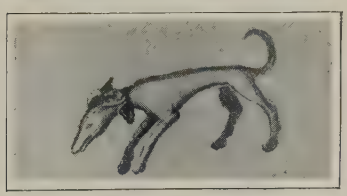
The work reflects, not only society, but the literature of the time. Every type of mediæval writing is there—the chevalresque and the popular romance, sacred legend and epic saga, history and myth, fabliaux[1] and lais,[2] prosopopœia,[3] allegory and sermon.

[1 Stories in verse. 2 Short poems in eight-syllable verse, recounting some incident of legendary lore. 3 Personification.]

The Nun's Priest.

The Second Nun.





The Monk's Dogs.

The Yeoman.

The Manciple.

The Parson.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.

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The Metre.

And the verse is varied, according to the subject-matter. The tragic stories, such as the "Monk's Tale," are written in an octave stanza of French origin, with rime order *ab ab bc bc*. The pathetic ones, such as the "Clerk's Tale," in the famous Chaucer stanza, or "rhyme royal," which is, without doubt, of Provençal origin (p. 282). In the "Rime of Sir Thopas" "rime couée" (tail rime) is adopted; and lastly, in the Prologue, nearly all the interludes and the majority of the tales (in all the best ones) the heroic couplet is the measure. The line is of the same structure as that in the octave stanza and the "rime royale," and the idea of combining such lines into rimed couplets was probably suggested by the Southern cycle of legends of saints, which were in Middle English Alexandrines, rimed in couplets (*cf.* p. 123). It will be remembered that Chaucer first used this measure in his own legend-cycle the "Legende of Gode Women," the sub-title of which, the "Seyntes Legende of Cupyde," showed that the poet had the sacred cycle in mind. Finally, two of the tales—that told by Chaucer himself and that of the parson—are in prose.

The comprehensive scheme of this great work was, however, never carried out. Death came to the cunning artist before the poem was half finished; and though the arrangement of some of the tales in relation to the whole is clear enough, it will probably never be possible to assign to all their proper place. In some cases we may be sure that the poet himself had come to no definite conclusion. He seems originally to have intended that each pilgrim should tell four tales, two going and two on the return journey. Afterwards he determined to assign but half this number to each, but of this less ambitious plan not half was finished. This was the work on which Chaucer was almost wholly occupied from 1388 (the probable date of the Prologue) till his death in 1400—only twelve short years! His wife had died in 1387, for soon after we find him mortgaging his pensions. Philippa Chaucer may have been an unsympathetic but careful housewife. A new royal pension of £20, granted in 1394 but paid irregularly, still left him in debt, and the post of Clerk of the King's Works, held from 1389–91, had but temporarily banished care. The respite had, however, been well used in producing the ironical "Wife of Bath" and "The Merchant's Tale."

In 1391 he wrote his "Treatise on the Astrolabe," a book on astrology for his ten-year-old son Lewis. In the last ten years of his life must also be placed his unfinished "Quene Anelyda and False Arcyte," which contains fragments of the original "Palamon and Arcite"; his "Complaynt of Mars and Venus," translated from the French of Granson for the Duchess Isabella of Lancaster; his "Praise of Women" and the "Goodly Ballade of Chaucer," both addressed to the queen, if, indeed, they are his work. Two ballads of warning are addressed to Richard, whose unpopularity was rapidly bringing his downfall, and the humorous "Compleynte to his Purse" earned from the weak, good-natured king a letter of protection against his creditors in 1398. When Henry IV., the son of Chaucer's old patron, John of Gaunt, seized the throne next year, one of his first acts was to grant the poet another pension of twenty marks. With new hope Chaucer bought the lease of a house in the garden of St. Mary's Chapel, Westminster, for fifty-three years. The sale was completed on Christmas Eve, 1399; on October 25th, 1400, the poet was dead. Chaucer's Later Works.

The works of which the names alone have survived are: "The Book of the Lion," mentioned at the end of "The Parson's Tale"; "Origenes upon the Mandeleyne," mentioned in the "Prologue" to the "Legende of Good Women," l. 428; a translation of Pope Innocent's "De Miseria Conditionis Humanae," mentioned in the Cambridge MS. of the "Legende of Good Women"; and a translation of the "Roman de la Rose."[1] Lost Works.

The following works were at one time supposed to be Chaucer's, and were consequently included in editions of his works. They are now known not to be so. "The Complaint

[1] Lines 1–1705 of the Glasgow fragment are now accepted as genuine by Kaluza ("Chaucer u. der Rosenroman, 1893") and Skeat ("Chaucer's Works," Vol. I., 1894). Kaluza also accepts l. 5811—end. The matter is far from settled. Lounsbury's defence of the whole ("Studies in Chaucer," II., l. 166) is unreliable, and has been refuted by Kittredge ("Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.," Boston, 1892). Ten Brink ("Chaucer-Studien," p. 14*ff.*, and "Gesch. d. engl. Litt., 4") rejected the whole; so did Skeat formerly ("Essays on Chaucer," Chaucer Society, No. 14, and Introduction to the "Prioress's Tale," Clarendon Press Series). Lindner ("Engl. Studien," x., 163) argues for a composite authorship. Mr. A. W. Pollard, in his excellent little "Chaucer Primer" summarises the arguments for and against fragment A.

Works wrongly ascribed to Chaucer.

of the Black Knight" is by John Lydgate; "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale" is similar to Chaucer in style, and takes its two opening lines from the "Knight's Tale"; "The Flower and Leaf" was written by a woman in the fifteenth century; Chaucer's "Dream" was first printed in 1598, and is certainly not his; "The Court of Love" was written about 1500; "The Testament of Love" and several short poems, included in the sixth volume of the Aldine "Chaucer," are likewise spurious.

A few words must be devoted to the language of Chaucer and of his time. In the second half of the fourteenth century the struggle for supremacy between the Anglo-Norman dialect and the native English had finally been decided in favour of the latter. Indeed, Anglo-Norman had given way even at the court to the more fashionable Central French, and hence Chaucer says of the prioress who had no relations with the court:—

> And Frensh she spak ful faire and fetisly,
> After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
> For Frensh of Paris was to hir unknowe.

Chaucer's Language.

At the same time the battle had left its marks on the victorious tongue in the loss of inflections, the addition of a large number of Romance words to the vocabulary, a general state of uncertainty as to the position of the stress in the borrowed words, and even, through analogy, in many native ones. This last phenomenon was greatly to the advantage of the poets of that time, who were thus enabled, without any offence to the ear, to make use of either accentuation. The example, however, led to evil results, for imitators of Chaucer, living in a later time, when the area of this fluctuation was far less wide in colloquial speech, extended the liberty, for which they found a limited authority in their master, to the violation of all music and rhythm in their verse. The secret of Chaucer's versification lay in the skill with which he was able to combine the spirits of two so utterly diverse metrical systems as the Germanic and Romance. And this secret could never be discovered by counting of syllables and neglect of the laws of stress; hence the monstrosities of Lydgate. But the service done by Chaucer for English literature was

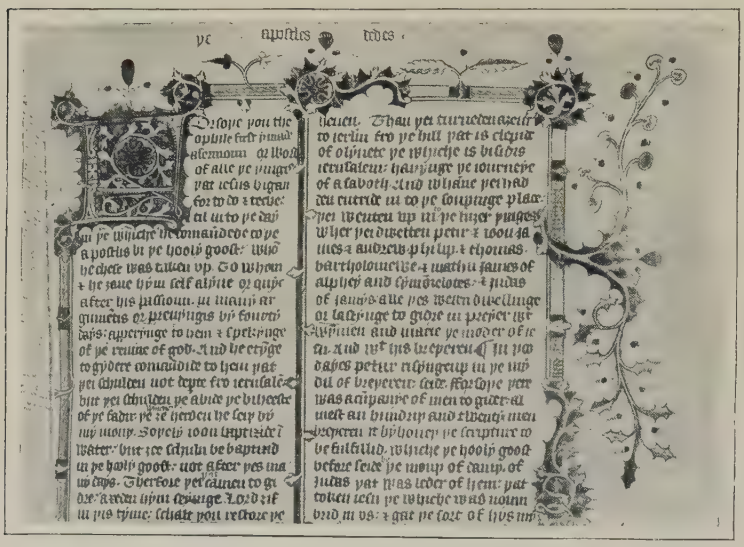
more than a metrical one. Him we have to remember and thank, not only as the "Father of English Poetry," but also as the "Father of Literary English." His works had more influence in directing the form of the written language than those of any other writer, Wycliffe not excepted. The dialect which he spoke was that of London, *i.e.* South-East Midland, and London was at that time the centre of the intellectual, commercial, and social life of England, even more than to-day, for then she had no rival Manchester, Liverpool, or Birmingham. It was from London and the royal court that the modern language of half the world sprang, not from the Universities, and not from the Church. And Chaucer was the directing and forming channel through which it was handed down to the use of future generations. An attempt has been made, but without success, to prove that the royal proclamations and other governmental documents were the chief agents in the production of a single literary language,[1] but though these, no doubt, were not without their effect, the main service must be ascribed to the poet. Wycliffe, doubtless, prepared the way for Chaucer by his polemical pamphlets, written in English, and the literary language once established was further defined by the printing-press of Caxton, another Londoner by residence though not by birth. (*Cf.* Chap. VIII.)

Wycliffe and English Literature.

Among the men whom Chaucer must have met at John of Gaunt's Palace of the Savoy was undoubtedly John Wycliffe. This almost sternly practical man, by far the greatest thinker of his age, must have made an impression on the Court poet, were it only by his fearlessness in thought and deed, and by the idealism which raised his every act above the commonplace. Yet wanting as he was in the artistic sense, it is no wonder that he exerted less influence on the work of Chaucer than on that of Langland, who cared far less for the form than for the spirit. His attitude as a thinker and a religious reformer can only be understood in the light of previous events in the history of the Church, and this side of his activity is dealt with elsewhere. In ecclesiastical politics he was the follower of Bishop Grosseteste, who had already, in

[1] *Cf.* Morsbach, "Ursprung der N.E. Schriftsprache" (Heilbronn, 1888).

the thirteenth century maintained the interests of the national Church in opposition to those of the Papacy. But Wycliffe, as a thinker, felt bound to find some philosophic basis for his action, and found it in an idealised form of the feudal theory of lordship based on reciprocity of service. This was his famous doctrine of Dominion: the development of a theory originated by Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh (p. 222). His final theological position was equally conditioned by his metaphysical thought, for his denial of transubstantiation was based upon the theory that annihilation



PORTION OF WYCLIFFE'S EARLIER ENGLISH BIBLE (MS. Egerton 617).

was a fiction, and that it was not in the power because not in the nature of God to annihilate anything. Indeed, all his works, even his sermons, show this love of theories and illustrations gathered from his philosophical and scientific studies, for he was scarcely less well read in science than in metaphysics. This taste he owed to his early University training, possibly in some measure also to his Northern blood.

Wycliffe was a great and original thinker, a fierce opponent of superstition, and, in his later years, of the men-

dicant friars,[1] but he was no stylist; yet, though our literature is not indebted to him for a single work of art, she owes to him many new ideas. He had worked out a complete philosophical system in a series of treatises of metaphysical,

PORTRAIT OF WYCLIFFE.
(*By permission of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Denbigh.*)

ethical, and political content, collected under the title "Summa

[1] He repeatedly brands them with the name of CAYM (Cain), taken from the initials of their orders: Carmelites, Austins, Jacobins (or Dominicans), Minorites (or Franciscans).

Theologia," and remarkable, not so much for the originality of their thought, as for the manner in which he deduces and finds philosophic bases for his ideas. His "Trialogus" (published 1383) treats, in four books written in dialogue, of God, the world, virtue, sin and redemption, the sacraments, the servants of the Church (especially the mendicant friars), and the last judgment. It gives, in strictly scientific form, the latest results of his researches made during the translation of the Bible. He was the first to uphold the absolute and sole authority of Scripture, and this, together with his translation, had much to do with the influence which the style and thought of that Book have exerted upon our best literature ever since. In this sense he was a true precursor of the Reformation, though he did not anticipate the Protestant doctrine of Justification by Faith alone. He was aided in the vast undertaking of giving the Bible for the first time complete in the vulgar tongue to the English people by Nicholas Hereford, an Oxford man, who was teaching at Queen's College, when, in 1382, he had to flee the country before the storm which was already breaking on the Lollards. The larger part of the Old Testament was translated under his direction,[1] and when he suddenly left England to appeal to the Pope in person against the sentence of excommunication passed on him, the translation had been completed to Baruch iii. 20. Wycliffe was responsible for the remainder of the Old Testament, and for the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The rest of the New Testament was possibly by another hand, working under Wycliffe's direction.[2]

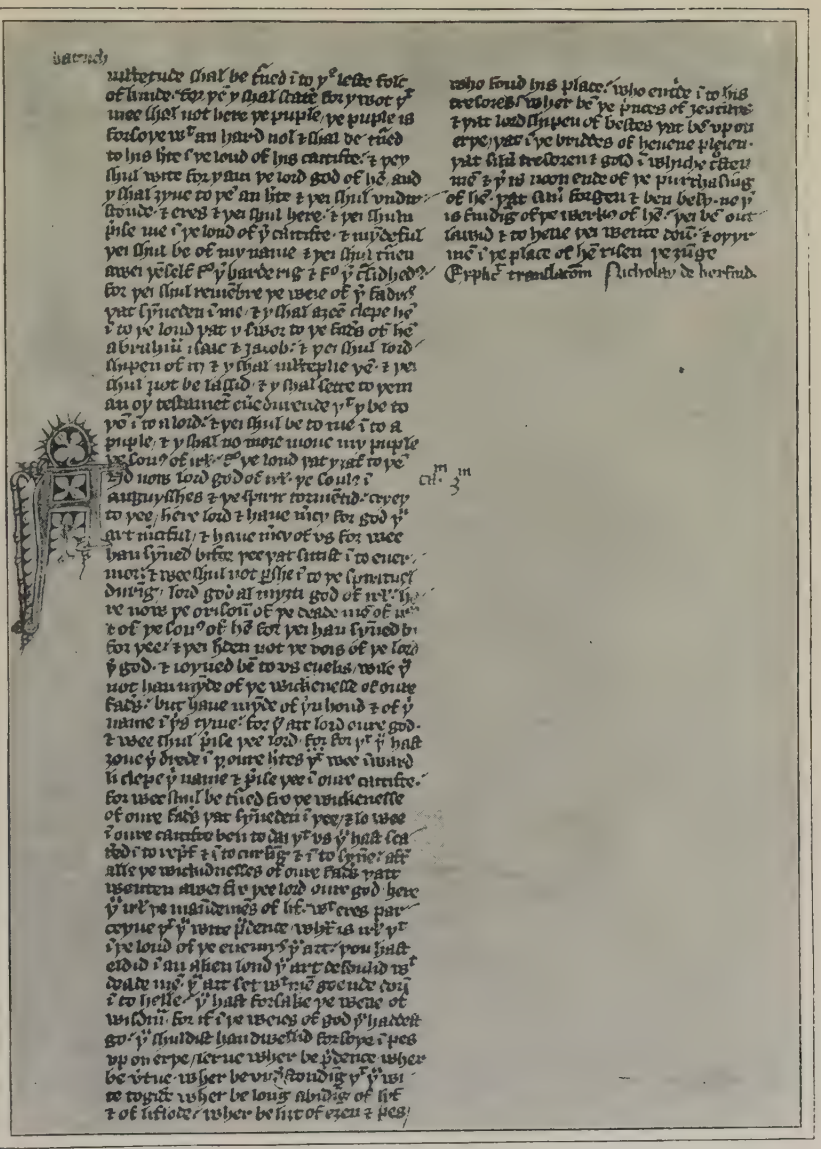
Wycliffe's Bible.

No sooner was the work completed (1383–4) than its many imperfections became evident. The laudable desire to be faithful in the rendering of each word had led the translators into grievous Latinisms which had their source in the Vulgate Version they were using.

Participial constructions and the use of the Latin perfect passive were common, especially in the work done under the direction of Hereford, who was far more painfully literal in his

[1] Much of it was the work of his own hand, but part was done by others. (*Cf.* Hermann Fischer: "Ueber die Sprache Wyclifs," Hallenser Diss., 1884.)

[2] *Cf.* Ernst Gasner: "Beiträge zum Entwickelungsgang der neuenglischen Schriftsprache," Inaugural Diss., Hanover, 1891.



PAGE FROM NICHOLAS OF HEREFORD'S VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.
(MS. Douce 369: *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

rendering than his master; so the work of revision began under Wycliffe's guidance. The task fell to John Purvey, but was not completed till 1388, four years after the master's death.

Wycliffe's Tracts.

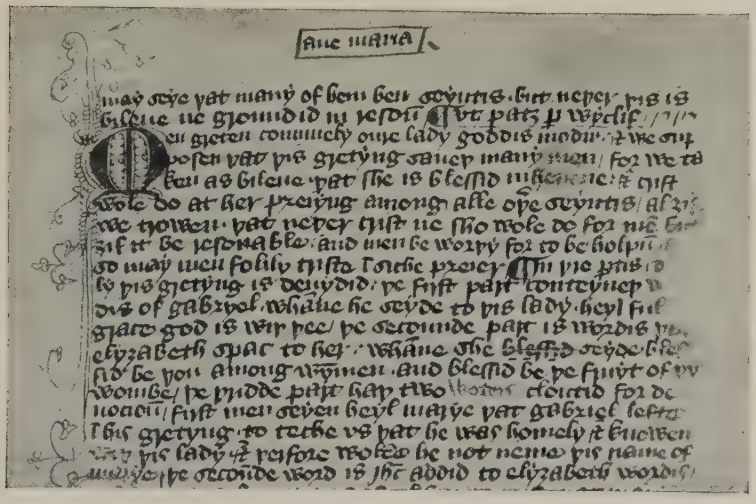
Wycliffe's English tracts and pamphlets stand in close relation to his translation of the Bible, for they constantly refer to the teaching found in that Book, and are written in the same strong and clear, if somewhat unformed, English. They are essentially moral, not theological, treatises, and deal with the same social and clerical abuses that had been matter for Walter Map's satire in the past, and were now the mark for Langland's irony. The most famous, because one of the most theological, called "The Wyket," speaks of the great temptation the faithful are under to leave the narrow path and the "strayte gate" which leads to "everlasting lyfe," and to wander into the "large and broad way" of belief in transubstantiation "that leadeth to dampnacion." The conception of human life as a pilgrimage, with Heaven our home, has always been popular, but was especially so in a time when the Renaissance had not yet taught men to see the dignity and worth of the present life in the flesh.

Had the Government been willing to watch over and direct the impulses to thought and reform which had their source in Wycliffe, instead of crushing them, as they mercilessly did in the next century, England might well have seen a great advance made towards the establishment of a strong prose tradition some two centuries earlier than was actually the case. As it was, the fifteenth century had nothing to show but the beginnings of this in the sense of rhythm, and even occasional passion, with which Malory was inspired by his rambles through the mystic jungle of Arthurian romance. It was longer still before argumentative prose took form.

Langland.

In Wycliffe's day reform was far more engrossing than form; and artist though he was, this remark holds good for Wycliffe's great fellow-labourer, William Langland. Yet nothing could be more widely different than the temperaments, theories of life, and methods of work of these two men. Langland was every whit as much a man of ideals as Wycliffe, but his ideal polity is built up from the existing order of things by a reform of the individual. Both saw something rotten in the state of England; but Wycliffe found it in the system, Langland in the men who

worked it. Could men be made perfect, then law might be neglected; but he had no touch of the leveller, and could feel no sympathy with the catch-phrases of John Ball. He saw no reasons for altering the *rôles* allotted to the various figures in the feudal system of society; he wished to inspire each with the desire to play his part manfully. "Rightful reason should rule you all," is his answer to the query about the existence of gentlemen in the days "when Adam delved and Eve span"; and testing them by this touchstone, he does not spare his blame of begging



PART OF A TRACT BY WYCLIFFE (MS. Harl. 2385).

friars, lying pardoners, and such-like caterpillars of the commonwealth, or even of the king himself.

It is consistent with all this that the means he took of expressing his ideas was not a polemical pamphlet, but a dream allegory, in which this insistence on the importance of the individual, and his careful observation of men rather than Man, makes him a draughtsman of types of character, and a humorist rather than a logician. If as a reformer he is related to Wycliffe, he is quite as much the humorous dramatic poet whom Chaucer found suggestive. He came of a much humbler stock than either, and was probably in one of the lower orders of the priesthood. He had a wife and family, and does

not seem to have had much personal intercourse with men outside his own home. He was probably born at Cleobury Mortimer, in Worcestershire (*c.* 1332), and was very likely attached as lector or exorcist to some chantry or mortuary chapel in London. This is about all we know of his life, yet there is no poet whose character is more clearly seen in his work.

"Piers Plowman.

"The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman" is a religious allegory, which the poet was constantly revising and extending, probably up to the very last. The MSS. fall into three groups, of which the earliest (1362) is thirty years older than the latest (1393), by which time the poem had grown out of all compass, and had lost the little unity it originally possessed. The middle group of MSS. gives the poem as it was in 1377: certainly the most interesting and most artistic stage of its development. "Piers Plowman" is divided into two main sections. The first, common to all three versions, is complete in itself, and, as literature, is the better. It tells in somewhat rambling fashion the pilgrimage of a company of men and women to the shrine of Truth, under the guidance of Piers the Plowman, who, as the poem proceeds, rises in the poet's conception from being only a representative English labourer to the type of Christ Himself. It is an allegory with a large number of digressions and discussions having small connection with the main action; but it is not mere abstract moralising allegory, like so much medieval art. The popular seven deadly sins are introduced, but the scene of their confession before Repentance is a piece of true comic drama, in which the characters are no personifications, but living English peasants and mechanics. These concrete figures are as different from the abstractions of "The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins," or of "The Induction," or even the romantic procession in "The Faery Queene," as Volpone is from King Hart. It is not till we come to such plays as "The Roaring Girl," or such poems as "The Jolly Beggars," that a parallel to them can be found. Another notable feature of the first part in the version of 1377 is the introduction of the fable of belling the cat, which first appeared in literature in a Latin and French collection of fables in a Paris MS. of the year 1333.[1] The beast-fable was, however, no

[1] The Latin version is evidently the older. The fable later became very popular all over Europe. It is found in La Fontaine.

new idea in England, and it formed a part of the Pre-Norman tradition which Langland represented. The cat typifies Edward III., the kitten Prince Richard, the "route of ratones . . . and smale mys myd hem," the Lords and Commons.[1]

The second section of the poem is that which varies most in the different versions. It is made up of three parts: the lives of Do-wel (*i.e.* do your duty on earth), Do-bet (*i.e.* translate the Bible and do deeds of charity), and Do-best (*i.e.* become a fisher of men). In the second and third versions

PRIDE.

A STERN FATHER.

(*MS. Douce* 104: *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

of the poem these parts are extended by a number of visions of theological and moralising import, such as that of Fortune, Nature, and Reason, that of Faith and Charity, and of the triumph of Piers, the whole concluding in deep depression and melancholy with the vision of Antichrist. Do-bet had closed triumphantly with the poet awakened by the clashing of the hopeful bells on Easter morning; but in the conclusion, Conscience, who has fled for refuge to the church, hard set

[1] *Cf.* J. J. Jusserand, "Observations sur la Vision de Piers Plowman," *Revue Critique*, 1879, II. Semestre, and Skeat's small edition of Piers Plowman, 1888, in which he accepts Jusserand's conclusions.

by Sloth and Pride, starts out as a pilgrim through the wide world to seek Piers the Plowman, praying the while with tears for grace. That, after thirty years of labour and experience, was the utmost of the poet's hope. Thus the three greatest men of the time all thought of human life under the favourite figure of a pilgrimage, but Chaucer alone treated the conception in the modern spirit.

Structure of the Verse.

It has already been pointed out that in form "Piers Plowman" belongs to that group of works produced in the West Midlands which revived in this century the Old English alliterative line, though in a freer form, which was largely the result of linguistic and accentual changes. At the same time, the tendency to introduce four instead of three alliterative syllables helped to hasten the conception of the old long line as two short ones: a conception which was destined to be confirmed when the ballad-singers added the ornament of end or even middle rime. Thus on the basis of such verse as Langland's there had grown up in the eastern counties, under French influence, the Middle English Alexandrine, as we find it in the Tale of Gamelyn, and from the use of middle rime a short-rimed couplet, of which the measure of "King Horn" is the typical example.

Langland and Richard II.

In the third version of "Piers Plowman" Langland had spoken more plainly than ever of the ill-government of King Richard, but his next work was directed wholly as a warning to that unhappy palterer. "Richard the Redeless" was begun in August, 1399, when the king was captured, and closes with a welcome to Henry IV. The poem is from the third Passus, an allegorical beast-fable. It is in the same measure as his longer work, the central figure of which had become very popular, and had tempted other writers to imitation. Such a poem is the alliterative "Piers Plowman's Crede," written 1393–1400. By the same author is the "Complaint of the Plowman" (*c* 1400), a poem in an eight-lined cross-rime stanza of four-accent lines, which in the sixteenth century was included in editions of Chaucer as the "Plowman's Tale."

Gower.

A very different person from any of the men we have been talking of was John Gower. Chaucer the artist, Wycliffe the reformer, and Langland the puritan, all in their way

were before their time. They all—even Chaucer—had the medieval limitations, but in greater or less degree their faces were set towards the dawn of modern life in the fifteenth century. Gower was always looking back. He could not help seeing that the times were out of joint; he could not help acknowledging the advantages of the new methods in literature used by Chaucer; but he only adopted the vulgar tongue as his instrument under the stress of competition, and he saw

His Views.

GOWER AS A SATIRIST (MS. Tib. A. iv.).

no hope for the land save in retraced footsteps. He was wholly conservative, wholly medieval. He was a man of great learning and with considerable sense of style, but he had no instinct for variety. His English verse is fluent and harmonious, his language lucid, and even forcible at times, but he has no touch of brilliancy, no play of fancy, still less any imagination. He is earnest, sententious, and grave; he is never profound. He can describe realistically the vices of which the lover may be guilty, but he cannot delineate character. He can tell a story with some sense of proportion, yet if his original has failed to grip the dramatic kernel, Gower is

unable to make good the omission. Indeed, he often allows himself to boil down the most effective passages of his original into a dry summary of contents. His best and most poetical work is undoubtedly to be found in his "Cinquante Balades" and a few other French poems which have come down to us. His natural elegance and polish of manner find in these short poems a peculiarly fitting form.[1] They are not long enough to make monotony of treatment possible, their complexity of form ensures sufficient variety of music, and their erotic theme keeps moralising at a convenient minimum. The majority were probably written early in life, though some, such as the envoi of the "Cinquante Balades," addressed to Henry IV., and the thirty-fifth balade, which clearly refers to the "Parliament of Fowles," are evidently of much later date.

Gower's Life and Works.

John Gower, born in the second or third decade of the century, was most probably a member of the family of Sir Robert Gower, a large landowner in Suffolk and Kent, and was till the later years of his life closely connected with the southern county. He writes of Wat Tyler's rebellion as an eye-witness. He married late in life, and died in 1408 as an old blind man in the priory of St. Mary Overies (now St. Saviour's), Southwark, of which foundation he was a great benefactor. His first ambitious work was a long poem in French, now lost, on the virtues and vices, called "Speculum Meditantis." This was possibly written before the death of Edward III. Soon after Richard's accession he began (1381) another long moralising poem, which was not finished till near the end of the reign. This time writing in Latin elegiacs, with a tendency to punning and assonance, and no great regard to quantities, he described at length in the first book of the "Vox Clamantis" the peasants' revolt under Wat Tyler, making use of prosopopœia, as Langland had done in his fable of the rats and mice and his "Richard the Redeless." In the six following books, which only make up three-fourths of the whole in length, he proceeds to preach the need for a purer faith, the sins of the clergy and lawyers, the dangers of Lollard doctrine, the sensuality of the serf, and the avarice of the merchant. What with Chaucer

[1] Gower's "balades" are poems of three stanzas, each consisting of seven or eight lines, the last forming the refrain, followed by an envoi in four lines, thus *a b a b b c* (*b*) *C* thrice, followed by *b c b C* in the envoi.

gives rise to some humorous ironical trait in one of his characters serves Gower as material for sharp satirical invective. A sort of sequel to this poem is the "Chronica Tripartita," which gives in running Latin hexameters a hostile account of Richard's

GOWER'S TOMB, ST. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.

conduct of affairs from 1386 till his death and the accession of Henry IV. In two MSS.[1] ten short poems follow (most of them

[1] Those of All Souls' College, Oxford, No. xcviii., and the Cotton Collection (Tib. A. iv.), British Museum.

Latin), which either inveigh against Richard or praise Henry of Bolingbroke.

The "Vox Clamantis."

In the "Vox Clamantis," after describing the evil condition of his own day, the poet continued with a picture of the five ages of the world, based on the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, concluding with a description of the seven deadly sins. He adopted the same plan, though allotting different proportions to the various parts, in his best-known work, the "Confessio Amantis" (1393),[1] an English poem of about 30,000 lines, in the same metre as the "Boke of the Duchesse." He compressed the first two subjects into the prologue, the third he expanded into the framework of the actual poem. Taking from the "Roman de la Rose" the idea of the author as a lover, he makes Genius,[2] the priest of Venus, his confessor. The lovers' confessions make up the poem. Intermixed with much discourse on universal knowledge, philosophy, and morals, culled from the popular "Secreta Secretorum," Genius recounts a hundred and twelve stories, biblical, classical, and medieval, in illustration of the seven deadly and more numerous minor vices into which a lover may fall. No work shows so clearly as this the inconsistencies of Gower's character. The confessor is at one moment a true servant of the goddess, describing in sensuous detail the temptations of the lover, or in mystic subtleties the conventional code of love, as laid down in the "Roman de la Rose"; at the next he is the priestly exponent of science, religion, and morals. The poet and lover alternate constantly with the pedant and priest. The only really readable parts of the poem are the tales; their tone and substance, however, being sometimes curiously ill-fitted to point the good moral intended. With the tale of Dido in mind, as an illustration of carelessness, and remembering that all the poet's blame in "Canace" is for the father's rage, we shall not miss the full significance of the epithet Chaucer gave

[1] It is now certain that the first edition of the poem was finished in 1393 (not the second, as used to be thought), and that the second, in which the dedication to Richard is replaced by one to Henry IV., was not published until after Bolingbroke's accession. This makes Gower's transference of allegiance easier to understand, and more accordant with his conservative character. *Cf.* C. F. H. Meyer, "John Gower's Beziehungen zu Chaucer u. König Richard II." (Bonn, 1889).

[2] Genius, in the second part of the "Roman de la Rose," is father confessor to Dame Nature.

his friend. Whether the two poets were less friendly at the close of their lives, as has been said, is uncertain. Perhaps Chaucer's strictures upon "Tyro Appolloneus," and "such cursed stories," caused a coolness between them, but nothing can be argued from Gower's omission of the eulogy on his friend from the second edition of the "Confessio," for Chaucer was then dead, and it would have been meaningless to recommend him to cease writing on love. Equally inadequate is the suggestion that the plagiarism of either poet was the cause of the estrangement, if any, for where they told the same tale they evidently used a common source.[1] This is surely a case where "De mortuis nil nisi bonum" is consistent with a love of truth.

H. E. D. BLAKISTON. The Universities.

THE Black Death made special havoc among the clergy. It is expressly noticed in the statutes which the Countess of Clare gave to Clare Hall in 1359, shortly before her death; and a similar wish to replenish the supply of educated men no doubt stimulated the efforts of other benefactors of learning. Of these, by far the most brilliant and original was the great architect and politician, William of Wykeham, who became Bishop of Winchester in 1366, and Lord Chancellor in 1367. He was probably not at the University himself, but rose to eminence as a man of practical ability. He was the leader of the conservative Church party against the movement in theology and politics associated with the name of Wycliffe. But he was anxious to combat an intellectual movement by intellectual weapons only; and for this object he purposed to increase the production of capable men carefully trained at the centres of learning to support orthodoxy of every description. Walter of Merton and his imitators had devised means for the eleemosynary encouragement of promising students at the universities; and schools for the education in grammar of boys, too young to be matriculated with advantage, already existed in connection with the greater monasteries, such as Canterbury and York. But to Wykeham belongs the distinction of having combined and adjusted the requirements of elementary and higher studies by a scheme

The Work of William of Wykeham.

[1] They both tell the tales of Troilus and Cressida, Florent, Constance, Ceyx and Halcyone, whilst the stories of the "Legend of Good Women" all recur in the "Confessio Amantis."

which marks him out as the founder of the English public-school system, since his day the almost universal method of education for the upper classes. Subsequent endowed grammar schools, from Henry VI.'s Eton College downwards, merely imitate Wykeham's arrangements; and the influence of his Oxford statutes may be as plainly traced in those of later foundations up to the sixteenth century as the ground-plan of his buildings in colleges of a date even more recent.

WYKEHAM'S STAFF.
(*By permission of the Warden of New College, Oxford.*)

Wykeham's school (St. Mary College of Winchester) was erected near his episcopal palace of Wolvesey. It was amply endowed for a warden, ten fellows, a headmaster, an usher, and seventy scholars, with chaplains and choristers. It was first started in 1373, but not finally installed in its spacious buildings till 1393. The Oxford College (St. Mary College of Winchester in Oxford) was for a warden and seventy poor scholars (to be rather older than the ordinary undergraduates), with ten chaplains and three other clerks and sixteen choristers for the chapel services. It commenced work about 1375, and took possession of New College in 1387. The founder continued to revise the statutes and safeguard the interests of his creations till his death in 1404, when he was buried in a splendid chantry in the nave of Winchester Cathedral, then lately rebuilt by him.

The scheme of Winchester and New Colleges shows that Wykeham intended them to be "not merely eleemosynary institutions, but great ecclesiastical corporations." The buildings show a grand adaptation of the common monastic plan to a different and more public use. At Oxford the lofty chapel and hall with gateway and muniment towers defended from the cold winds the large low quadrangle containing the sleeping-rooms and studies; the cloister on one side and the kitchen on the other are remote from interruptions. There was a large library, an audit-

room; a brewhouse and a bakehouse outside the gate; everything, in fact, which could be needed for the various wants of the members. The warden's residence, allowances, privileges, and provision for hospitality, are on a level with

Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.

MERTON COLLEGE LIBRARY.

those of the abbot of a wealthy monastery. Every detail of the life of his scholars is minutely prescribed by Wykeham's statutes; in fact, perfection is the note of his whole design. The particular course of study to be followed within the college is marked out; and in this Wykeham, as "the first founder

who contemplates any instruction being given to his scholars in college, is the founder of the Oxford tutorial system," by which the teaching in the Faculty of Arts has been almost exclusively carried on. All recognised branches of learning were to be encouraged at New College; of the seventy scholars, ten were to study civil law, ten canon law, two might devote their time to medicine, and two to astronomy, while the rest were to pursue arts or theology. The text-books of the arts students were still those of the old routine of grammar and

QUADRANGLE, WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

logic, Donatus and the Latin Aristotle; of classical studies in the modern sense there was as yet no sign in England. A curious result of the strictness of Wykeham's rules survived till 1834, in the custom by which New College men could demand degrees without passing the ordinary examinations. This arose from the founder's prohibition to his students to sue for the "graces" or dispensations from the statutable conditions of residence, etc., which at last formed the only preliminaries to a degree. Wykeham provided that his Winchester scholars should have an exclusive right to places at Oxford; by this he secured a high standard of efficiency in the elements of learning.

But in the preferences which he left to his own kindred instead of his estates, he placed his colleges under an obligation which was fertile in litigation and inefficiency.

Wykeham's aim was in a great measure successful. New College produced no learned men at first, but several able ecclesiastics, among whom the statesman, Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, themselves founded colleges after Wykeham's design. At a later period the careful grounding given by the school began to tell, and the pioneer of the Oxford revival of learning, William Grocyn, was a Wykehamist.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Public Health.

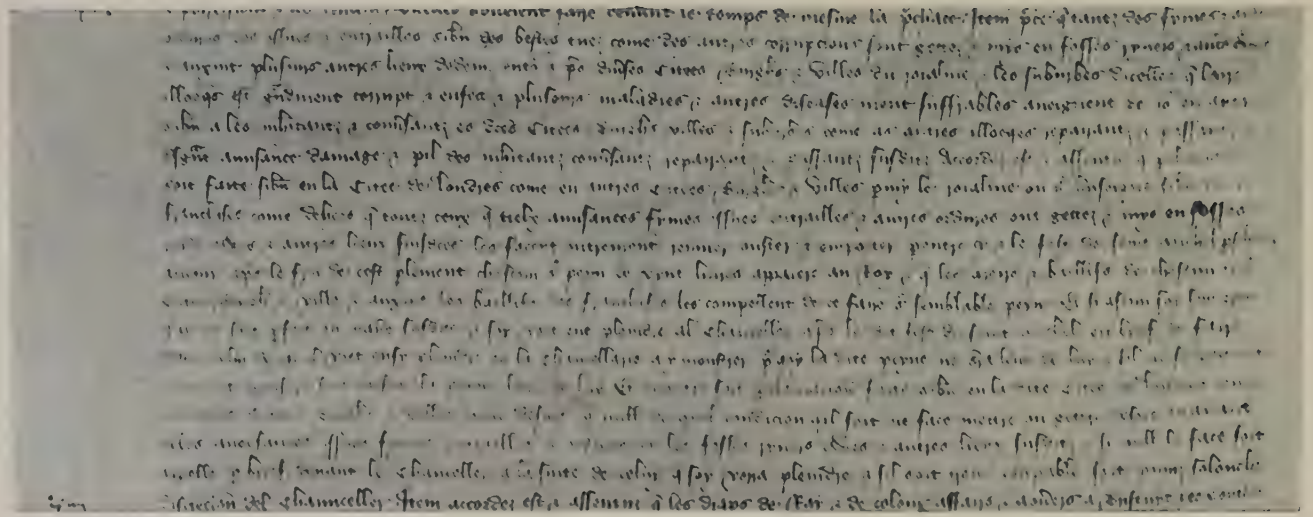
Sanitation.

Both sanitary and preventive, or quarantine, practices arose out of the experiences of the Black Death and of the outbursts of plague that followed it at short intervals. Scavenging of a kind there must have been long before; the force of public opinion, as expressed in the manorial and other courts, would have kept down nuisances offensive to the sight and smell. But the great difficulty, then as now, was the radical disposal of refuse. It was comparatively easy to deposit the clearings of scavengers in "laystalls," or rubbish-heaps, or to throw offensive matter into the town ditch, or into the river, or the nearest standing water. London in the fourteenth century saved appearance well enough; it was known to foreigners as the "White City," which one of our poets, an admirer of things archaic, took to mean "London small and white and clean." In a sanitary inquisition of the year 1343, it is worthy of note that the offensive latrines, dust-heaps, and the like, which were reported upon, were all, or nearly all, in the narrow lanes leading down to the Thames. The laystalls were outside the walls, or beyond the town ditch; in Henry V.'s time there was a common latrine on the Moor (the marsh, or fen, between Moorgate and Finsbury), which became so offensive that it was suspected of breeding sickness and was ordered to be removed. The shambles were inside the walls, not far from Newgate, and were a continual source of annoyance to the whole locality both from the blood flowing in the kennels and from the transit of offals through the streets and lanes to the jetty at Barnard's Castle, from which they were thrown into the Thames. The

first Sanitary Act ever made in England was passed by the Parliament of Cambridge in 1388, and was chiefly directed against the throwing of dung, garbage, and other corruptions, etc., into ditches, rivers, and waters, whereby the air was rendered greatly corrupt and infect, and many maladies were engendered. But it should be remembered that, with all these sources of contamination, the town ditch of London contained "great store" of excellent fish until the time of Henry VIII., that the Thames ran clear and was frequented by salmon from the sea, and that at so characteristic a medieval town as Chester, the Dee (which encircled two-thirds of the city, and received the refuse) had salmon fisheries of great value directly under the walls until long after the medieval period. The real difficulties of sanitation do not arise until population begins rapidly to exceed its old limit, until suburbs begin to spring up in the old waste places where laystalls were wont to be, and until the river and its tributary streams can no longer absorb, so to speak, and oxidise the refuse of the town. So far as domestic sanitation is concerned, its difficulties were naturally greatest in the houses without any ground attached to them situated in the poorer lanes and alleys, which were usually close to the walls, either within or without them. The houses of the richer citizens stood in gardens; but it appears from a Paston letter (fifteenth century) that the possession of a garden was no reason why there should not be a "draught-chamber" within doors.

The scavengers, who were said in the time of Elizabeth to be exercising their functions "as of old," corresponded more to inspectors of nuisances than to the actual carriers of refuse. Originally, the duty of removing refuse fell on the householder himself; but by the year 1540 it appears from the burgh records of Ipswich that men were appointed by the municipality to remove the town refuse and deposit it at four stated places without.

It is, of course, conceivable that our ancestors may have been more tolerant than ourselves of gross offences to sight and smell. But while that is doubtful, it is further clear that they knew the same subtle or unperceived dangers of befouling the air, the water, and the soil with putrefying matter, excremental or other. The connection between infective or other diseases and such befouling is the explicit motive of the Sanitary Ordinance



THE FIRST ENGLISH SANITARY ACT

(*Lansdowne Office.*)

of Edward III. in 1371, of the Sanitary Act of Richard II. in 1388, of the Sanitary Ordinance of Henry V. in 1415, and of the Act of Henry VII. against the shambles in 1488–89. These Sanitary Ordinances are so few and far between that it may appear as if the English people in early times had been indifferent as to sanitation; but it has been truly remarked by Hume that the frequency of a particular class of measures in the Statute Book goes to show, not so much that their object was attained in a high degree, having been a matter of special solicitude to rulers, but rather that negligence was so chronic and persistent as to demand incessant legislative checks.

The effects of the Black Death did not end with the thinning of the population and the rise of wages. The whole national life was demoralised. The surviving rich fell into unheard-of luxury, vulgar display, and avarice; the monks added whole manors to their estates, and rivalled the secular lords in their style of living; the parish clergy deserted their cures to live in London "in Lent and Yule," taking service as clerks of the Chancery and Exchequer. Many of the people lived out of wedlock, others made unhappy marriages; few children were born, and the rising generation was brought up in indulgence and ignorance. Meanwhile the king and his lords were engrossed with the wars in France. But the most disastrous consequence of the Black Death was that the seeds of bubo-plague remained in the country, to burst forth in widespread epidemics time after time. Langland, the realistic poet of the age, compares the prevalence of sickness to "the rain that raineth where we rest should." The second great epidemic, which fell most on the upper classes and the rising generation, was in 1361, the third in 1368–69, the fourth in 1375, the fifth in 1382, and the sixth in 1390–91. One or more of these may have been of some other type of disease than the plague, and there were certainly outbreaks of sickness during the same period (not counted among the six), which were due to scarcity or to spoiled grain and fruit. But, it is clear that plague of the same type as the Black Death—not so severe, doubtless, as in that primary visitation, but causing panic and mortality which called for the prayers of the Church and for plenary remission to the dying—formed part

The Recurrence of Plague.

of the epidemics which were numbered to the *quinta pestis* in 1382, or the *sexta* in 1390–91. The last-named was, indeed, compared to the Black Death itself, and in the city of York is said to have destroyed eleven thousand, an incredible number, as it would have been three-fourths of the inhabitants. Many of the towns were much decayed; probably none of them, except London, York, Bristol, Coventry, and Plymouth, regained the population they had in the first half of the fourteenth century until the Tudor period, and some of them, such as Bodmin, Sarum, and Leicester, not until late in the reign of Elizabeth. The old saying ran: "Lincoln was, London is York shall be." The decline of Lincoln was certainly progressive, while that of Norwich, which came next to London before the great malady, was relatively even more marked. On the other hand, the county of Kent, which was the scene of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, came to the front in population, with its various ports, doubtless from its proximity to the English possessions in France. The poll-tax of 1377 showed a population of about two millions and a half in all England, excluding Wales and the counties palatine of Chester and Durham. That was a generation after the Great Plague; but the numbers showed no recovery, for there is cause to think that the population before the mortality had been some four millions—a total which England did not reach again, or exceed, until after the Reformation.

W. J. CORBETT. The Agricultural Revolution.

BEFORE proceeding to describe the final catastrophe of the Peasants' Revolt, towards which England was now hurrying, and the further impolitic steps on the part of the landowners which brought them face to face with it, it will be pleasant to turn for a moment to the doings of those agriculturists who, even before this, had given up the struggle to keep down wages, and being not too wedded to old fashions to accept the inevitable, had already begun devoting their attention to devising other and more original methods by which to escape from the dilemma into which they had, by no fault of theirs, drifted.

So far as we have gone, we have found the demesnes of the manors cultivated in one of two ways: either by the

Management of Land.

customary and unpaid labour of villeins, who in return had holdings for nothing, or by the paid services of practically free labourers, who if they also had holdings, paid a fixed money rent for them to the lords, the rent in its origin representing a commutation of the older customary services. In either case it was the lord of the manor who found any capital that might be required, and who, either in person or through a bailiff, directed the various operations of agriculture: chief among which, however unsuitable to the land, was the growing of corn. It is obvious that these two ways of using the demesnes were not the only alternatives which were open to their owners if they wished to make a profit on them; for they do not include either letting them on lease, which is nowadays the ordinary method, or using them as sheep farms, for which, in many instances, they were alone adapted. But neither of these ways had the sanction of custom; indeed, both were directly in opposition to the old manorial traditions, and so as long as the older systems worked smoothly there was very little chance of either being introduced. As soon however, as the possibility of getting labourers to work on profitable terms vanished, and it became important to do with as few farm servants as possible, both these methods were seen to have attractions which outweighed the dominant aversion to trying novelties. For sheep farming almost dispensed with the necessity of having labourers, except in small numbers, while leasing transferred the burden of getting them from the shoulders of the landlord to those of his tenant. If, too, a demesne was not let in a block, but divided into a number of small holdings, even the tenants, who in this case would be small men, would, in all probability, be under no necessity of hiring labourers; for in most cases they would find their own labour, aided by that of their wives and families, sufficient. In fact, by adopting this plan, many of the free labourers, tempted by the idea of becoming their own masters, could be induced to give a reasonable rent for being allowed to work a piece of land which, at the bidding of a master, they would not have worked except at unreasonable wages. All these considerations put together could not fail in the long run to have some effect on the more clear-sighted of the landowners, and it is not surprising to find that on the better-managed estates both

Sheep Farming and Leases.

sheep farming and the leasing of the demesnes came more and more into vogue at the very time when a great number of landlords seemed only bent on reactionary measures.

Of sheep farming not much need be said here, as it will be necessary to discuss it at much greater length when we come to the fifteenth century, at which date it assumed the position of a leading national industry. It may, however, be pointed out that its introduction just at this time was particularly encouraged by Edward III.'s commercial policy. For that monarch not only paid the greatest attention to regulating and developing the export trade in wool, which had always been carried on between England and Flanders, but also did all in his power to persuade Flemish weavers to come over and settle in this country, and so founded a home manufacture for draperies, which soon increased so greatly in volume that it easily used up all the fleeces that could be supplied by the English farmer. Its introduction, too, as long as the country was depopulated from the effects of the Black Death, was undoubtedly a good thing; for in this way much land could again be turned to good account which must else have remained waste from lack of persons to till it. In the end, however, as we shall see, it was fated to cause a great deal of social discontent. For to carry it out it was necessary for the lord to withdraw his share in the common fields from tillage, and lay it down in grass; while he further not infrequently was tempted to enclose the whole of the manor wastes without sufficiently compensating his tenants for the loss of their rights of pasture which consequently ensued; and both these measures, by interfering with their customary means of gaining a livelihood, tended to disorganise the peasants' agriculture, besides greatly restricting their chance of obtaining employment.

AULNAGER'S SEAL.
(*Ipswich Museum*)

New Social Dangers.

Letting the demesne on lease, on the other hand, was not attended by any of these drawbacks, but rather by substantial advantages; for it was to the introduction of this method of cultivation that England, in a large measure, owed the rise of that class of sturdy yeomen farmers who, for about two centuries, formed the backbone of the country. The change thus brought

about was by no means so revolutionary as that which accompanied the introduction of sheep farming, and, indeed, had little direct effect on the manorial system. Its indirect effects, however, as has been well said, were of the highest importance; for it helped to break down the personal dependence of the tenantry on their lords, on which feudalism was based, and set up a new middle class who had to trust to themselves, and who, in time, as they grew in wealth, gradually rose to a position not so very inferior to that of their former masters. It must not be supposed that this was accomplished all at once, or that the leaseholders on their first creation at once assumed the character and status of the later tenant-farmers. On the contrary, it took some time, and the earliest leases were not at all like those with which we are now familiar. For nowadays when a tenant takes a holding, he is usually expected to find the capital necessary to work it from his own resources, the landlord considering that he has done the whole of his part of the bargain when he has supplied the bare land and farm buildings. But the new tenant-farmers in the fourteenth century could not have done this, for none of them were wealthy men, and unless they had had the capital lent them in the form of the stock, both live and dead, which was already on the land and which the landlords no longer themselves required, they could not have undertaken to farm their new holdings. The leases, therefore, which they took, were what have been termed "stock and land leases," in which both the land and everything required to begin cultivating it were let together, the tenant not only having to pay a yearly rent but being also bound on the expiration of his term to render up to his landlord the same amounts of seed-corn, live-stock, and implements as he originally received or else their estimated value in money. The leasing of cattle or sheep on these terms had become quite common even before the plague, five shillings a year being an ordinary rent for a cow; and there are early instances of the leasing of demesne land in the same way, but it only became a common practice in the latter half of the fourteenth century. And here, perhaps, we ought to note that leasing the demesne to a tenant, who did not thereby acquire his lord's manorial rights, is not at all the same thing as leasing the whole manor to a "firmarius" or farmer with all the seigniorial rights entire, a practice which had

Stock and Land Leases.

for long been a special feature of some estates. For we often find the manors belonging to the Chapter of St. Paul's farmed out singly to the various canons; but this did not imply any abandonment of the system of cultivating under bailiffs. The stock and land lease proper, on the other hand, did, and when

THE TREASURY, MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.
(By permission of the Warden.)

once adopted seems to have lasted on most estates for about fifty years, after which it was in its turn abandoned and its place taken by the ordinary form of lease for a life or years. Thus the Merton College estates were nearly all let on these stock and land leases for short terms soon after the Black Death, but at the beginning of the fifteenth century they had all been changed for leases for long terms of the ordinary kind. From this it

would appear that it took about fifty years from the introduction of leases in any manor for a fairly substantial kind of yeomen to grow up, and that it was only after a certain amount of tutelage that the class really became self-dependent. A single instance will be sufficient to show what kind of stock was supplied to the tenant with the land. In 1360 Merton College let its lands at Farley, in Surrey, and "the tenant took nine horses and a bull, valued at 10s. each; ten cows, valued at 11s. each; four oxen, each at 18s. 5d.; twenty-four quarters of wheat, at 6s. 8d. a quarter; six and a half of sprig, at 4s.; three quarters and a bushel of 'frumentum vescosum,' at 4s.; three quarters three and a half bushels of barley, at 4s. 8d.; two of pease, and two of vetches, at 3s. 4d.; and forty-nine and a half of oats, at 2s."[1] In all, that is to say the college supplied its tenant with capital to the amount of about £22, but this does not include either poultry or any agricultural implements, which in many cases were also supplied.

Efforts at Reaction.

While some of the more versatile landowners were thus withdrawing from the direct cultivation of their estates, the more conservative and pugnacious were still engaged in their uphill struggle with the intractable labourer. Year by year, however, the chances of success became more remote, the population, if anything, declining, until at last the exasperated and baffled employers determined on the desperate expedient of reverting wholesale to the personal services of former times. Not only did further commutation cease to take place, but manumissions and exemptions, which for years had passed unchallenged, were set aside, and all the ingenuity and learning of the stewards of the various manors was invoked to hunt up informalities and omissions in the court rolls, which might serve as pretexts to the lords for reinforcing their antiquated rights. The law, it must be admitted, was apt to be on their side; for whereas the lords could usually produce some documentary evidence that the services had existed, there was very little to show how the labourers had escaped from performing them; and, even if there had been, the place where such disputes had to be tried was the manor court itself, in which the steward

[1] Sprig was possibly a kind of barley, "frumentum vescosum" wheat and vetches sown together. *Cf.* Thorold Rogers, "Agriculture and Prices," I., p. 27.

presided, the king's courts always refusing to interfere in quarrels between the unfree and their lords. Parliament, too, as usual, could always be called in to assist the latter, and in the first year of Richard II.'s reign an act was passed annulling all claims to freedom based upon the evidence of Domesday. If such a venerable record was not respected, it is not likely that any others that the villeins could produce would be. Indeed, the statute seems devised to help the lords in any event, for it winds up by ordaining that they "shall have Letters Patent under the Great Seal, as many and such as they shall need, if they the same require." That they must have required them, and in great numbers, there can be no doubt, and very little either that, when they got them, they were of no avail. For the labourers had not stood out all these years to give in tamely in the end, and if the lords had the Crown and Parliament to back them, their opponents by this time had found allies in the followers of Wycliffe, in the wandering friars, and in John Ball, the mad priest of Kent. The last-named boldly took up a socialistic position, saying that things never would go right in England so long as goods were not in common, and so long as there were villeins and gentlemen; and the popularity of this view was shown by the rhyme which everywhere passed from mouth to mouth, beginning, "When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?" The bitterest feelings, in fact, soon became engendered among the peasantry, and a fierce spirit of resistance sprang up, which led to the formation of what would now be called agricultural unions and other formidable combinations against their employers. As the statute already quoted says, they did "menace the Ministers of their Lords both of life and member and, which more is, did gather themselves together in great Routs and did agree by such Confederacy

"WHEN ADAM DELVED AND EVE SPAN"
(MS. Roy. 1 E. iv.).

that every one should aid other to resist their Lords with strong Hand." When once things had got to such a pass, very little more provocation was wanted to set the strong hand actually in motion, and this little was quickly supplied by the excessive taxation which had to be laid upon the country to repair the growing disasters of the French War.

The Peasant Revolt.

In 1377, just before Edward III. died, the financial position of the kingdom had become so bad that a new expedient had to be invented, and Parliament voted a poll-tax of a groat, or four-pence, on all over the age of fourteen, both men and women, excepting veritable beggars (p. 209). In 1379 this imposition was repeated and made more productive by being graduated from £6 13s. 4d. on wealthy nobles like the Duke of Lancaster, down to a groat on the ordinary labourer. Even so, "great grudging and many a bitter curse" followed on the levying of the money; but the last straw which broke down the patience of the peasantry altogether only came in 1380, when the graduation was abandoned and a new tax of three groats laid on every person, of whatsoever state or condition he might be, who had passed the age of fifteen. In money of the present day this would mean over fifteen shillings a head, so it is not hard for us to realise what a burden the tax must have formed on the slender resources of the medieval cottar and farm labourer. Proportionately, too, it was on these classes that it weighed heaviest, and many must have echoed the complaint of the anonymous author of a political song who wrote: "To seek silver to the king, I my seed sold: wherefore my land lieth fallow and learneth to sleep. Since they fetched my fair cattle in my fold: when I think of my old wealth, well nigh I weep. Thus breedeth many beggars bold; and there wakeneth in the world dismay and woe, for as good is death anon as so for to toil." Anyhow, fresh rhymes at once spread through the country summoning all to revolt and trample on their oppressors. "John Ball," the doggerel ran, "greeteth you all, and doth for to understand he hath rung your bell. Now right and might, will and skill. God spede every dele. [1] The die, in fact, was cast, and the end of the following spring saw the whole of the peasantry of the home counties in insurrection, headed by their parish priests, and backed by the

[1 *I.e.* every part of the movement.]

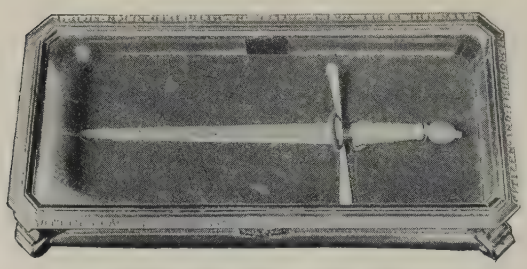
poorer inhabitants in the towns. The original outbreak began in Kent with the murder of a tax-collector by one Walter the Tyler, who afterwards marched to Canterbury to release John Ball from prison, and then upon London at the head of a large

ANCIENT HOME OF THE CAVENDISH FAMILY, CAVENDISH, SUFFOLK.
(The murdered Chief Justice had purchased the Manor in 1359.)

rabble, computed at 100,000 men, slaying every lawyer and burning all the manorial records he could find upon his way. But this movement must have been preconcerted; for as Wat Tyler, south of the Thames, was marching on Blackheath, north of the river the Essex men were marching towards Mile End,

and the men of Hertfordshire towards Highbury. Riots, too, were going on all over the country—at St. Albans, at Bury St. Edmunds, at Winchester, Cambridge, and Norwich, at York, Beverley, and Scarborough, in Surrey and Sussex, and even as far west as Devonshire. Everywhere, too, the rioters seem to have been animated by the same ideas, and to have demanded emancipation from the power of the great landowners, or, as their petition expressed it, the abolition of villeinage as an institution, the reduction of rent to fourpence an acre, free access to all fairs and markets, and the establishment of a free peasant proprietary to be governed by the king directly.

When asked by their king at Mile End, "What will ye?" the Essex men shouted back, "We will that you free us for ever, us and our lands, and that we be never more named or held for serfs"; and it was in the same spirit that the villeins round St. Albans forced the abbot to give up the charters which proved them to be bondmen and broke in pieces the millstones which as bondmen they had been compelled to use. At first it seemed as if the movement would succeed (p. 210); but the peasants quickly alienated the sympathies of the townsfolk by their violence. In London they burnt the Temple and the palace of the Savoy, ransacked the Tower, and murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Treasurer and the Chief Commissioner for the levy of the poll-tax. At Bury St. Edmunds they killed the prior and Chief Justice Cavendish, and all over the country they attacked the justices and the manorial officials. Many foreigners, too, lost their lives, while everywhere manor-houses and granges were pillaged and destroyed. When, therefore, their leader, Wat Tyler, was slain by the hand of the Lord Mayor of London, the crisis was over, and Richard II. found himself at the head of an army sufficient to stamp out the revolt in three weeks. The



THE DAGGER THAT SLEW WAT TYLER.
(*By permission of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers.*)

stubbornest resistance offered anywhere was in Essex, where Richard was confronted with his own charters; but he now only answered, "Villeins you were and villeins you are. In bondage you shall abide, and that not your old bondage, but a worse." And in this he was as good as his word. When Parliament met in the autumn, the question of enfranchisement was, indeed, submitted to it by the king and Council, but only to be summarily rejected. As the Commons pointed out, the charters of enfranchisement granted by the king without their consent were entirely illegal, and this consent they never had given and

The Revolt Quelled.

TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP SUDBURY, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

never would give, "were they all to die in one day." On the contrary, they would do what in them lay still further to secure the continuance of villeinage and increase the disabilities of the bondmen. To this the king consented, and together they passed statutes ordaining that all manumissions, releases, and other bonds made during the late tumult should be void, and that the Council should provide a sufficient remedy for all who made complaints touching "charters, releases, obligations, and other deeds and muniments, burnt, destroyed, or otherwise eloined" (made away with), on their furnishing sufficient

proof of the muniments so lost, and of the form and tenor of the same. Six years later they took further precautions against the supply of villeins diminishing by enacting that, if any person, boy or girl, should have served at husbandry at the plough and cart till the age of twelve, from thenceforth they should abide at the same labour, and that it should be illegal for them to be taught any other mystery or handicraft. Attempts were also made to prevent the children of the lower orders from being sent to school lest they should be advanced in the world by entering the Church.

The Measure of its Success.

How far all these efforts to keep things stationary were really successful is not altogether clear. Some writers, indeed perhaps the majority, have assumed that they entirely failed, and that, though the revolt to all appearances was easily suppressed, the villeins really gained their ends. For in their eyes the very number of efforts at repression is evidence of their practical futility. The adoption of an argument of this kind, however, is hardly convincing, while actual manorial records can be found which testify to the continued exaction of services all through the fifteenth century and far into the sixteenth. At Wilburton, for instance, in the Isle of Ely, no change was effected until Tudor times, and we read of royal manors where Elizabeth found serfs to emancipate in 1574. In reply it is easy to characterise such instances as exceptional, but they certainly are in keeping with the lament of Fitzherbert, that when he wrote in 1523 the country was still disgraced by the retention of villeinage. On the whole, then, it seems more accurate to hold that no sweeping change followed the revolt, but that at the most it only accelerated changes already in progress, and assured for good and all their final triumph. The revolt, in fact, though it did not at once render serfdom a thing of merely antiquarian interest, must have more and more convinced the landowners that the game they were playing was not worth the candle. In increasing numbers they must have come to see that, though the labour services were of more value than the money payments for which they had been commuted, they would nevertheless be losers by their restoration; for there were methods of using their land now within their reach which were more profitable than either of the older systems, and which, when adopted, would secure an income at the cost of far

less trouble to themselves than could ever be hoped for if they continued to struggle on with unwilling agents in the old grooves. Such a view of the great revolt of course somewhat diminishes its importance, but only very slightly, and it must ever remain memorable as the first struggle on a large scale between capital and labour in England.

W. A. S. HEWINS Industry and Commerce.

Long before chapters on economic history found their way into text-books every schoolboy was familiar with some of the changes of the fourteenth century which have exercised a great and enduring influence on English social life. The Black Death and the uprising of the peasants have never been wholly neglected by English historians, while the encouragement which Edward III. gave to the woollen manufacture has been the first introduction of many to the story of the growth of English industry. The development of commerce during the latter half of the fourteenth century, and the elaborate system of organisation to which it gave rise, are not inferior in interest or importance to these more striking topics. For the commercial legislation of this period was not the work of men dominated by a set of economic principles which they believed could show them how to overcome all the difficulties in the way of progress. When we read the statutes or the Rolls of Parliament we are impressed with the absence of definiteness of aim or policy which characterises the legislation of this period. Principles of action which have now become axioms had to be found in the painful road of experience. In the fourteenth century subjects such as the incidence of taxation, the best method of organisation, movements of currency and the foreign exchanges, bristled with difficulties which could not be surmounted by the easy method of ignoring their existence. The commercial world was less homogeneous than it is now, the administration of justice less pure, commercial integrity less common. Legislation was of necessity largely empirical, and it is partly to this fact that we must attribute the frequent and almost bewildering changes in the statutes. Acts of Parliament, again, were not so effectively administered as they are now; some were not enforced at all. Complete efficiency in the strict administration of a statute was not necessary to indicate its

probable results. A brief trial of a measure might justify its repeal or more thorough legislation on the same lines, according as experience showed that it was likely to be mischievous or the reverse.

The Wool Trade.

Little experience was needed to show that friendly relations between Flanders and England were necessary to the prosperity of both countries. A dearth of English wool stopped the Flemish looms; when the markets of Flanders were closed to the staple product of England, English wool-growers were threatened with ruin. At the commencement of the period with which we have to deal, the woollen trade had been depressed for some years; from 1336 to 1363 the price of wool was only once, in 1343, above the average price of the fourteenth century; in 1349 it fell to 1s. the tod,[1] the lowest price touched during the century. The principal causes of the depression which we must briefly notice in order to understand subsequent legislation were four in number. The year 1328 was marked by a sudden reversal of the policy of the time. So far there had been a steady growth of the staple system. In that year, however, Edward decided to try an experiment in free trade, and all staples were abolished. Another statute to the same effect was passed in 1334. There can be no doubt that such an attempt was premature. In that age some regulation of commerce was necessary in the interests of the traders themselves. Confusion and uncertainty naturally followed, and in the absence of adequate means for their protection we may be sure that merchants would be unwilling to incur the risks of foreign trade. We may with confidence attribute part of the depression to this measure. In 1336 a still more serious blow was struck at the staple trade of the country by the prohibition of commerce between England and Flanders. From what has already been said about the importance of the Flemish market to English wool-producers, it is obvious that a prohibition must have been very injurious to both countries, and the measure of 1336 may be regarded as the second cause of the depression. Thanks to the good offices of James van Artavelde and Edward's need of Flemish aid in his war with France, friendly relations between England and Flanders were re-established, and in 1341 Bruges became the staple for English wool. For the next four

[1] Usually the tod was 28 lb.]

years there was an improvement in trade, and the cities of Flanders enjoyed great prosperity. The death of Artavelde (July, 1345), and the troubles which followed, again caused some falling off in the Flemish demand. Still there was no serious

BELFRY AND CLOTH HALL, BRUGES. *Photo: Neurdein, Paris.*

interruption of friendly intercourse, and in 1347 the Flemings resisted Count Louis' efforts to detach them from the English alliance. But in 1348 it was found necessary to expostulate with the cities of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, for trying to

prevent Lombard merchants from buying English wool, their object evidently being to keep down prices by securing a monopoly of the demand for themselves. The troubles in Flanders during the year, culminating in civil war, practically put a stop to industry, and made Bruges anything but a safe place for business transactions. The natural consequence was a fall in the demand for wool. The depression in trade, therefore, which began with the abandonment of an old policy, was probably accentuated by the prohibition of 1336, and the civil troubles in Flanders during the following years.

Effects of the Black Death.

There was a fourth cause of great, though exaggerated, importance, viz. the Black Death. It would be easy to attribute to this visitation changes which were due to other influences. Had nothing of the kind occurred, there is no reason for supposing that subsequent commercial development would have been materially different. In his commercial policy Edward III. does not appear to have been influenced by the great calamity. The prices of the year 1349 show that it caused a restriction of the foreign demand for English goods and of the supply of foreign commodities. But so far as foreign commerce was concerned, the effect of the Black Death was immediate and temporary only. It had none of those far-reaching consequences in this sphere of economic activity which made it a turning point in agricultural history. The depression was, for the time, rendered more severe than it otherwise would have been. But it is noteworthy that the decline of trade was attributed not to its influence, but to the fact that the staple was out of the country.

The French War.

The French war was not an unmixed evil so far as commerce was concerned. The wool subsidies, the purveyance of ships, the subordination of trade to the exigencies of foreign diplomacy, the insecurity of travelling, the ruin and havoc of France, the withdrawal of skilled artisans from the exercise of their trades at home, no doubt operated as a serious check on economic progress. But indirectly the country gained. The Flemings would, probably, not have so readily accepted Edward's invitation if their own country had not been involved in civil dissensions, and if England had not been relatively a place of security. It is possible that the same causes left the way more open for the development of the English cloth manufacture. By the capture

of Calais (August, 1347), followed by the defeat of the pirates in the Channel, England secured commercial advantages which, to some extent, outweighed the evils of the war. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of foreign commerce was the insecurity of the Channel owing to the ravages of pirates. It was no slight gain to convert the home of some of the worst of these robbers into a staple for English goods. The risks of trading were diminished, and English merchants enjoyed by one route comparatively secure ingress to Continental markets. Edward's constant need of money for carrying on the war had consequences of great importance in the economic sphere. It impressed upon him, in regard to the collection of the customs, the necessity of an effective organisation, the advantages of which were great, although his exactions were a severe strain upon the resources of the country. It made him more and more dependent upon his people; and whether or not he cared for the development of commerce, he was obliged to pay more regard to the interests of the trading classes. On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the French War hastened a commercial development which, in the ordinary course of events, would have been long delayed.

Edward III.'s Commercial Policy.

It is clear, then, that the time was ripe for new measures in commercial policy. Trade was depressed, but the country had the means of starting on a career of great prosperity. The experiment had been tried of doing without staples for English goods altogether, and it had failed. Foreign staples had been tried with unsatisfactory results. A dispute with the Hanse merchants in 1350–51, in which not they, but the citizens of Bruges, were to blame, did not diminish the friction with that city. If a foreign staple were desirable, England had possession of Calais; and it was now less necessary, in the interests of trade or the French War, to cultivate friendly relations with Flanders. Calais afforded easy access to France, and wool was so indispensable to the Flemish weavers that they would be obliged to take it on whatever conditions England imposed. As long as the staple was out of England it was impossible for the king's officials to secure that ample flow of wealth into the English exchequer which the French War rendered necessary. Hence we have the great Ordinance of the Staple (1353).

The broad features of Edward's commercial policy are

The Ordinance of the Staple.

strongly impressed upon this important measure; and although there were some modifications in subsequent years, they remained substantially the same for 200 years. On the occasion of the great wool grant (1338) special ports in England had been appointed for shipment of the wool, and a similar arrangement was made by the new ordinance. The following were the staple towns and the corresponding ports:—Newcastle-on-Tyne, York and Hull, Lincoln and Boston, Norwich and Yarmouth, Westminster and London, Canterbury and Sandwich, Winchester and Southampton, Carmarthen, Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda. The mayor and constables of the staple, who were to be elected annually by the native and foreign merchants of the place, were to exercise jurisdiction over all persons concerned in the business of the staples, and their proceedings in all matters of debt and contract were regulated by the Law Merchant, and not by the common law or the customs of the town. On taking office they swore that "well and faithfully they would serve the king in the office to which they were chosen; that they would intreat the merchants of the same staple faithfully; and that they would do equal right unto all persons as well of this realm as unto strangers after the ordinances made by the king and his council and the Law Merchant." There was an important provision for the settlement of disputes. Two foreign merchants, one for the north, the other for the south of England, might be elected to sit with the mayor of the staple and watch the interests of alien traders. In trials, the jury was to consist of natives, if the parties to a dispute were natives; of foreigners, if foreigners; and if one was a native and the other a foreigner, the jury was to be composed equally of natives and foreigners. Alien merchants were treated very generously by this ordinance, but the policy with regard to them during the reign varied so frequently that we shall not further discuss its provisions. To give validity to contracts, the mayor of the staple was to attest them under the seal of his office, charging $\frac{1}{2}$d. for every contract under £100, and 1d. for more than that amount. All merchants had liberty to buy and sell goods in any part of the country provided they were taken to the staple, and special exemptions were granted to certificated carriers. Forestalling and regrating were prohibited; and, in the staple towns, special streets or warehouses were appointed; the rent

of the latter was to be fixed by the mayor and constables with four of the principal inhabitants. The customs duties were regulated and machinery provided for their collection, while the exportation of bullion was prohibited, except by merchant strangers, who might carry back the portion of their money which was not laid out in the purchase of English commodities. Such was the staple organisation. During the latter half of the fourteenth century the staple towns were frequently altered, and there were other changes in the ordinance from time to time. But the general policy, except in the treat-

Lincoln. Southampton. Boston.

STAPLE SEALS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

ment of foreign merchants, remained unchanged until the loss of Calais in 1558, which inflicted a death-blow on the staple system. It should be noticed that at this time the merchants of the staple consisted of all those, trading in the specified commodities, who took the required oath of obedience to the king's officials. They were less an exclusive trading company than an organ of administration. In the bitter controversy about the trading companies at the end of the sixteenth and during the seventeenth centuries, many adherents of the old system looked back with regret to the comparative free trade of those days.

At this time the resort of foreigners to England was greater than that of Englishmen to foreign parts. Chaucer's "Schipman"

> "Knew well alle the havens, as thei were,
> From Gothland to the Cape of Fynestere,
> And every cryke in Bretayne and in Spayne."

Foreign Trade.

So that he did not go very far from home. English merchants, indeed, frequented the marts of Flanders, and were to be found in the Mediterranean, but during the period under discussion, the bulk of the foreign trade of the country was in the hands of various bodies of foreign merchants. Of these the most important were the Hanse merchants, who had an extensive provincial organisation in England. So powerful were they, that in 1348 there was a complaint that one of their number had bought up all the tin produced in Cornwall during that year. The "Flanders galleys" already sailed from Venice and periodically visited England, bringing the manufactures of Venice and the produce of Persia and the Indies, and taking back the staple commodities of the country. By these and similar agencies all kinds of foreign commodities found their way to the great English fairs, whence they were dispersed through the country. Eastern produce, Italian silks and velvets, glass, furs and amber from north-eastern Europe, the fine linen and cloth of the Flemish cities, the wines of Gascony, Spain, and Greece, millstones and candles from Paris, iron from Norway and Spain, mercury from Spain and Transylvania, and many other commodities too numerous to mention were bought and sold in England.

"Mercantilism."

With the reign of Richard II. signs are not wanting of the approach of the "mercantile system," which dominated the commercial world from the days of Elizabeth to the publication of the "Wealth of Nations." We have already noticed the subordination of trade to foreign diplomacy. Under Richard II. we meet with the first Navigation Acts, which were no doubt rendered necessary by the injurious effect on the navy of Edward's purveyance of ships. They were imitated a few years later in Scotland; but they failed in their object, perhaps from the want of adequate means of enforcing them, but more probably because the time was not ripe for such an experiment. The Government could not call into existence a powerful mercantile marine by simply passing an Act of Parliament conferring a monopoly on English shippers to the exclusion of foreigners. Foreign merchants continued to resort to England and to carry away the staple commodities of the realm. But the prevailing jealousy of foreign merchants found expression in several Acts of Parliament; and, though the measures varied

considerably from time to time, there appears to have been a systematic attempt on the part of the merchant class to reverse the policy of Edward III., which had been, on the whole, favourable to foreigners. We can see the effect of this change more clearly in the fifteenth century.

Looking through the Statute-book, our first impression is that commerce, during the latter half of the fourteenth century, was so cramped by absurd regulations that progress was well-nigh impossible. But the measures of this period were the result of practical efforts to cope with difficulties, by men who were untrammelled by any theoretical system. Edward III. took counsel with his merchants in making provision for the regulation of trade. Many of the means adopted will not bear the test of criticism from the modern economic standpoint. But it must be remembered that the conditions of every economic problem have changed since that era. Practically it will be found that there was much more freedom than at first sight appears. In many cases the merchants obtained what was of greater importance than freedom in a wild lawless age, viz. security. If we subtract from the statutes of Edward III. all these regulations which were intended for the protection of property, for the repression of piracy and smuggling, for securing fair dealing between man and man, the regulations to which reasonable objection can be made become greatly reduced in number.

C. R. L. FLETCHER. Town Life.

In the period which succeeded the Black Death little outward or visible change passed over English town life. It was already a settled thing that England was to be one kingdom in a sense in which no other country of Europe was at that time one. The danger that London would form an *imperium in imperio* such as Venice and Florence had formed within that geographical expression which men called Italy, the danger that the Cinque Ports would form a confederation as independent of the government at Westminster as the Hanseatic League was of the yoke of the Holy Roman Empire, was already past. Yet outwardly there was little difference to be recognised between the two kinds of municipalities. Almost all over Europe the municipal form was tolerably similar, while almost as wide powers and even wider immunities were accorded to a citizen of London than to a

Municipal Liberties.

citizen of Nuremberg. Would the titular head of the Germanic confederation, if he had ridden with his train of knights and followers into Lübeck or Augsburg, and sent his marshal, or the steward of his household, to choose lodgings for his suite in the houses of the citizens by the simple process of putting a chalk cross on the doors, have found those crosses rubbed out, and "the men and serjeants with horses and harness," belonging to the royal party, ejected by force because it was "contrary to the liberties of the city"? Scarcely; yet this is what had happened in London a few years before the Black Death; and the Sheriff of London being indicted for "the said contempt within the verge" (*i.e.* of the king's court) was triumphantly acquitted; and it was laid down that the mayor and citizens should in future "enjoy such liberty of livery of lodgings, within the city aforesaid, in such manner as their predecessors."

The power of regulating trades and crafts seems also to have been completely in the hands of the municipalities, and it was not until the sixteenth century that the experience of the craft-guilds was taken up and embodied in Parliamentary enactments binding on the whole kingdom. But the Customs, both export and import, and the control of the wool trade, had become matters of national concern; and one finds that towns constantly had to petition the king for leave to impose a new port-due or a new toll at their gates or bridges, and that they were not unfrequently refused. Above all, coinage was in England, as it never was on the Continent, entirely a national and nowhere a private concern. Professor E. A. Freeman struck the right note when he said: "The history of Exeter is a lesser one than that of Nuremberg only because the history of England is a greater one than that of Germany." So it was; and by the time that our period opens, miserably behind the German, Italian, and even Southern French cities as all English towns, except London, manifestly were, they were already fitting themselves to play their part actively in the harmony of English national life.[1]

[1] The genesis of the English town from one or more agrarian communities, and the rural character (Vol. I., pp 297, 520) which clings to it through the mediæval period, cannot be enlarged upon here. Nor can the curiously complicated rights of ownership in it, which raise problems still awaiting settlement. The student will find abundant illustration in F. W. Maitland's "Township and Borough," 1898.

The whole commercial and industrial activity of England lay at present in the towns which dotted the eastern and southern coasts from the Wash to the Cornish headlands. Northward of this fringe, indeed, lay Hull, Newcastle, and the debateable town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, which was proud of possessing the longest bridge in England. This bridge, by the

Seaports.

ERPINGHAM GATE, NORWICH.

way, had to be frequently rebuilt, partly owing to the repeated inundations of the Tweed, partly owing to Border warfare; and there were long periods during which it was suffered to lie in ruins, and "one half-quarter of pease" had to be allowed daily to "six cross-bowmen guarding the ferry of the Tweed" at Berwick. A toll of sixpence on each ship entering the harbour was granted in 1347 by the king towards the rebuilding of the bridge. To the west, too, lay the great port of Bristol and the somewhat less important Milford Haven both being utilised

BRISTOL STATE SWORD, 1373.
(By permission of the Lord Mayor.)

chiefly as places of embarkation for Ireland, and, perhaps, already for pilgrimages to St. James of Compostella. By a charter of Edward III. (1373) Bristol was made into a county, because the burgesses complained that they were partly within the jurisdiction of the sheriff of Gloucestershire, partly within that of the sheriff of Somerset, and consequently liable to attend county courts, juries, assizes, and inquests at Gloucester and Ilchester respectively, to their great detriment, and petitioned "that Bristol be not burdened to send more than two men to Parliament," as, perhaps, it had been asked to do as being situate within two counties — a strange instance of the contempt of our ancestors for the glorious privilege of heckling the King's Government!

But it was from Lynn to Falmouth that the real town life of fourteenth-century England was concentrated. There stood the Cinque Ports, now expanding into a considerable confederation of associated towns, still surrounded with their ancient walls, still maintaining a rigorous and somewhat tyrannous control over the lesser lights in their planetary system, still jealously guarding their rights of fairs and markets; above all, still remaining the real nucleus of the naval power of England. And the Thames, like a silver wedge driven into the heart of this strip of coast, separated the eastern associated towns from the Cinque Ports proper and their western dependencies. On the

FOUNDER'S HORN, C. C. C., CAMBRIDGE.
(By permission of Messrs. Macmillan and Bowes Cambridge.)

THE LYNN CUP.

[*To face p.* 346.

INGATHERING OF AN ORCHARD: BRASS OF ADAM DE WALSOKEN.

PEACOCK FEAST, GIVEN TO EDWARD III. BY ROBERT BRAUNCHE, MAYOR OF LYNN.
(*From Memorial Brasses, St. Margaret's Church, Lynn.*)

Thames, and within the jurisdiction of the lord mayor and aldermen of London, "from Staines to Yantlet Creek" (the first "conservators of the Thames"), the Yarmouth fishermen and the Sandwich sailors could meet in peace.

London Life.

Let us try for a moment to realise the life of fourteenth-century London. The houses of mud and timber were beginning to give way to stone and even brick—bounties were given to persons who built with these new materials. Upper chambers,

SHOP OF MEDIEVAL TYPE, ELMHAM, NORFOLK.

called "solars," were being added to the single-roomed houses of former days. These would be used for sleeping rooms, though we find no mention of "parlours," or talking rooms—*i.e.* rooms where a rich merchant would meet his customers and discuss business—before the fifteenth century. The "shop" would still frequently, though not invariably, be in a booth outside the door. The solar was approached by a wooden or stone

staircase from the outside. Huge signs swung overhead, and were obliged to be at least nine feet above the level of the street, to allow of a man on horseback riding under them in comparative safety. Even at that height it must have been an unpleasant task in a high wind. Footpaths there were none; but the road was raised by a slope from the middle downwards to the two "kennels" (canallos), into which the filth of the streets was supposed to run. A little before our period that useful animal the pig had served as scavenger; but it had recently been ordered that "no swine be found about the streets and lanes of the city and suburbs"; if they are found, anyone may kill them, but the owner has the right of pre-emption of the carcass at fourpence. "And he who shall wish to feed a pig must feed it at his own house" (*Liber Albus*, 235). The most minute regulation for prices, for apprentices, for trade of every kind, prevailed; and almost sovereign power over every department of life was in the hands of the lord mayor and aldermen. Every alderman was constantly obliged to go round testing measures and weights and wine cups; measuring the "ale stakes," *i.e.* long poles fixed over the doors of the innumerable taverns, to see that they did not exceed the regulation nine feet; examining the mesh of the fishing-nets to see that they were two inches in width at the least ("as

DRINKING VESSELS. (*Guildhall Museum.*)
(*By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.*)

DRINKING VESSELS, 14TH OR 15TH CENTURY.
(*Guildhall Museum.*)
(*By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.*)

[1348

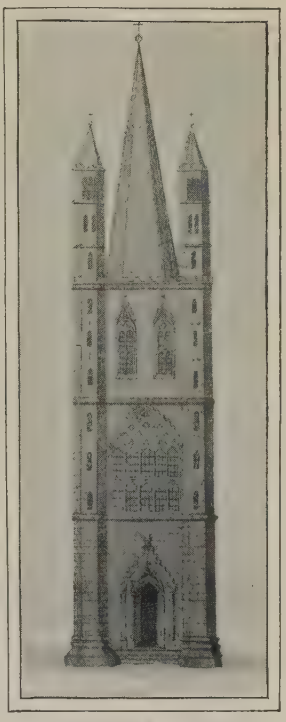
appears after inspection of the memoranda in the chamber of the Guildhall, namely, the lesser Guildhall"), and that no "gorce, chotnet, chofnet, nor kidel" was used in fishing. Not unfrequently he would be obliged to act as policeman, and to arrest "persons who should be so daring as to be found wandering by night about the streets of the city after curfew rung out at St. Martin's-le-Grand and St. Laurence, and at Berkyng-chirche [All Hallows, Barking], with sword or buckler, or with other arm for doing mischief"; to shut the taverns and ale-houses at the same time; to see that no suspicious persons were harboured therein. The mere testing of the bakers' materials, under the "assize of bread," must have been of itself a serious task to the city authorities. For instance, the "light bread which is called 'pouf' (puff?) ought to be of the same bolting (*i.e.* fineness) and weight as wastel bread"; "and as to demeisne bread (*i.e. panis dominicus*, the Lord's bread, from the image of Our Saviour stamped on it), it should weigh the same for a halfpenny loaf as a farthing loaf of wastel except nine pennyweights, which may be lost in baking." One does not quite understand why our ancestors, who drank such enormous quantities of beer, left the brewing business in London—and in all other towns apparently—so largely in the hands of alewives, who retailed their own brew on the spot. It was reckoned a low calling, and woe to the alewife who infringed the "assize of beer." After repeated fines she stood in the pillory at Westchepe, where the beer-drinking mob would probably not be very merciful to her. The windows of the houses seem pretty generally to have been made of glass by this time; Edward III. chartered the Guild of Glaziers, but chimneys were long a luxury of the rich.

The Topography of Old London.

Pauli[1] points out what a much greater effect the natural elevations of ground in old London had on the eye than at present, when we hardly realise that St. Paul's stands on a really considerable hill, and that Fleet Street once crossed a considerable river, up which barges plied. Of the ground-plan of the present city it would still be possible for our ancestors to recognise Cheapside, Cornhill, Leadenhall Street, Thames Street, and perhaps Gracechurch Street. The mighty bridge of twenty arches that had been finished in the reign of King John, and which was spoken of as one of the wonders of the world, with

[1] "Bilder aus Alt-England," 1876, p. 372 *seq.*

its street of shops, its drawbridge in the middle, where the tolls were levied on "foreign merchants" passing up to the little wharf of Queenhythe, and over which frowned the Tower with the grim remnants of mutilated traitors fixed on spikes, was the scene in 1390 of a curious duel between Sir D. Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, and Lord Welles, Ambassador at the Scottish Court. The Scotsman, having been at the expense and trouble of crossing the kingdom under a safe-conduct from Richard II., deserved to win, and did win. But even London Bridge was in constant need of repair, and direct taxes, as well as charitable subscription, had to be resorted to by more than one of the Edwards to maintain it. Naturally the tendency of the City to extend westwards in the direction of the great abbey, within whose precincts the business of the law courts and of Parliament was transacted, and southwards towards the Surrey hills (the scarcely less important business of bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and other less reputable amusements, were chiefly confined to Southwark; indeed, persons of evil reputation were regularly hunted out of the City, ferried across, and made to pay the boatman for transporting them), was continually showing itself, though one finds constant complaint of the almost impassable condition of the road from Temple Bar to Westminster. In the reign of Edward III. a special tax on all goods carried into the City, a sort of octroi in fact, was established for the repair of the roadway. From London Bridge radiated the great road to the west, and the high road to the Continent, along which Chaucer's "Canterbury Pilgrims" had to pass from the Tabard Inn at Southwark. The almost equally important "pilgrims' way" to Walsingham, in Norfolk, started from the eastern gate of the city; and as these two shrines had a



ST. MICHAEL'S, CORNHILL, BEFORE 1421.
(*From an old Drawing.*)

European reputation, it follows that these roads were not traversed by Englishmen alone; Jusserand quotes a decree of the Venetian senate authorising Lorenzo Contarini to visit from Sandwich the shrine of St. Thomas, while the Venetian galleys lay in that port; but he was to be sure to return to his ship the same day.

Other Towns.

If other towns were far behind the London of the fourteenth century in splendour and extent of trade, we may be sure that they were tolerably accurate copies of its general principles of

ST. MARY'S HALL, COVENTRY.

life internal and external. The same minute provisions for overseeing everyone from the cradle to the grave, the same publicity of life (the utter want of real privacy must have been the most serious discomfort of town-life in medieval times), the same outward conformity to the ordinances of the Church, the same secret growths of scepticism with regard to these ordinances, whether displayed in the good-humoured bourgeois banter of Chaucer, or the more serious attacks of the followers of Wycliffe, meet us everywhere. The great churches of Sandwich and Winchelsea, St. Nicholas at Yarmouth, and St. Nicholas at Newcastle, were in their glory in the fourteenth century; the

high tide of the Decorated style of architecture had already been reached; but the spirit of unity and brotherhood, which had animated the original building of these monuments, was already passing away. The strife of the various religious orders—monks, friars black and white, parish priests, hermits, pardoners, and pilgrimage-mongers—was degrading the ideal unity, and rending the seamless garment. And in secular matters within the towns a somewhat similar spirit was displaying itself. The separate craft guilds were rising upon the ruins of the old Guilds Merchant, which had once embodied all the trading and industrial societies of each town. Although the municipal and parliamentary franchise still remained in the hands of all burgesses in nearly all cases, yet the time of the "charters of incorporation" was not far distant. When that time should come, the towns would be governed by a narrow oligarchy.

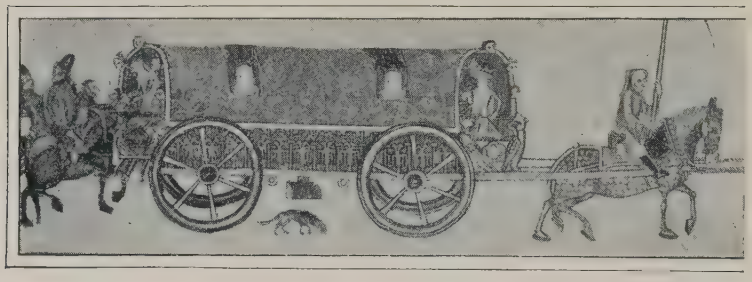
D J. MEDLEY. Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages.

THE instinct which brought our forefathers from Central Asia to the shores of the Atlantic continued to exert an influence over the individual lives of their descendants long after the "Wandering of the Nations" had come to an end. The ecclesiastical system of Christendom with its outward unity,

ST. IVES BRIDGE, SHOWING THE CHAPEL AT ITS CENTRE.

its cosmopolitan priesthood, and its affiliated system of monasteries, gave occasion for much systematic and indiscriminate travelling, while the stupendous mass of Crusaders of all ages and classes, witnesses to the eagerness with which the lay portion of the population welcomed an outlet for the exercise of the primitive instincts of their race. In England and elsewhere piety and utility combined to preserve and improve the means of transit. The danger which attended the traveller caused him to be placed alongside the sick, the prisoner, and the poor, as a special object for the prayers of the Church. Hence ecclesiastical lands, freed from all other burdens, had from the first submitted to that "trinoda necessitas" or threefold obligation on all landowners, which comprised as one duty the maintenance of the bridges: while equally readily at a later age did they share with other lands the obligation of repairing the great highways. As a matter of fact neither of these obligations was burdensome. Pious motives often prompted the erection of a particular bridge, and not infrequently lands were left whose proceeds should be devoted to its maintenance. Often, too, on the bridge or at one end of it, stood a chapel, where the passing traveller might rest his body and, if a pilgrim, refresh his soul. To the offerings of pilgrims at the chapels and the endowments of pious builders was sometimes added the grant to an individual of the right of taking toll from all passing over a certain bridge on condition that he kept it in repair. And in cases where all these methods failed, the trinoda necessitas should have ensured the security of these important communicating links. But after the break up of the manorial

Aids to Travel.



A ROYAL TRAVELLING CARRIAGE

system and until the Tudor policy made the justice of peace the State's "man of all work," as he has been aptly described, local government was scandalously inefficient, and the great landowner, retaining the local influence without the responsibility, could laugh to scorn the demands of the neighbouring sheriff or justice for the performance of duties which from time immemorial had lain upon his lands. Consequently we find frequent notices of bridges which through sheer neglect had collapsed and were suffered to remain in ruin. Nor were the roads in much better plight. True, the method of travelling did not demand a carefully prepared surface. Everyone walked or rode on horseback; even the movable furniture and the personal luggage were carried mostly on horses and mules; while the springless carts used for agricultural purposes would not be much the worse for many joltings. But in the fourteenth century great ladies travelled occasionally in carriages gorgeously ornamented and resembling in size and structure a gipsy caravan, or were carried in horse-litters, borne on two long poles, slung on either side of two horses going tandem. No doubt when estates were much scattered, as they were in the centuries immediately following the Norman Conquest, and when the monastic orders were still active, it was to the interest of the chief landowners, both lay and ecclesiastical, to keep the highway in some kind of repair. But at the best of times such roads would have been little better than our country lanes, and a little neglect or intermittent repair reduced them to mere tracks which might be rendered impassable by a long continuance of bad weather. It was a

Modes of Travel.

AND ITS HORSES (*Luttrell Psalter*).

SADDLE HORSES (MS. 264: *Bodleian Library, Oxford*).

not unfounded grievance with Members of Parliament that they might be subjected by the Crown to a heavy fine for a late arrival at Westminster, which was due to the state of the highroads which they had to traverse.

A collection of statistics has popularised the fact that in the Middle Ages carriage of goods was cheap. But it has been justly pointed out that this is not to be interpreted as evidence of the good quality of the roads so much as suggesting the great quantity of the country carts which did the carriage. These were the carts which the royal purveyors appropriated without stint, ignoring the statutable claim of their poor owners to compensation for the use. Even casual travellers were liable to have their luggage turned out anywhere upon the road and the cart which conveyed it impounded for the use of an ubiquitous court. Indeed for sheer destructiveness, the royal journeys resembled the flight of a swarm of locusts. The purveyors were without conscience, the king was without knowledge, and nothing resulted from his attempts to meet the complaints of his people by statutes restraining the activity of his caterers, even though they comprised a ridiculous attempt of Edward III. to remove the stigma by altering the name of the responsible official. The fault lay in the constant movement of the court. While the king journeyed it was not altogether the purveyors' fault if they could not get the peasants to surrender their stock of hay and corn and their waggons without some show of violence. The great men imitated the king, and the retinue of a nobleman or a bishop in the fifteenth century must have resembled the progress of an Anglo-

Royal Progress.

A HALT (MS. 264: *Bodleian Library, Oxford*).

Indian Lieutenant-Governor on a tour of inspection during the rainy season.

Dangers of Travel.

Even lesser folk, if they had anything to lose, preferred to move about in company. Yet merchants' caravans were not always free from attack. The "robber lords of the Rhine" have passed into a proverb; but even Englishmen of gentle blood were not always to be acquitted of the kind of evil reputation which we have learned to associate with the German knights. And if the nobles themselves were not often guilty, their retainers, sheltering themselves under the livery of some powerful lord, with impunity committed all kinds of outrages —robbery, arson, seduction, forcible detention. Furthermore, the free use of outlawry in the judicial procedure of the time filled the woods and waste places with bands of men, often of gentle blood, whose numbers made it inadvisable for their victims to protest. It is to ballads of the fourteenth century that we owe the idealisation of the career of Robin Hood. Not that those responsible for the law and order submitted to these things without some attempt at remedy. In the Statute of Winchester (1285), Edward I. among other things attempted to provide for the safety of the roads by directing all neighbouring landowners to demolish the brushwood in which robbers might lurk on either side of the highways to the breadth of two hundred feet. But the executive was weak, or rather its influence was intermittent; the patronage of some local magnate was easy to get, and, in the last resort, the privilege of sanctuary for the felon, which was insisted on by the Church, gave a protection which was freely used. And

TAKING SANCTUARY (MS. Roy. 10 E. iv.).

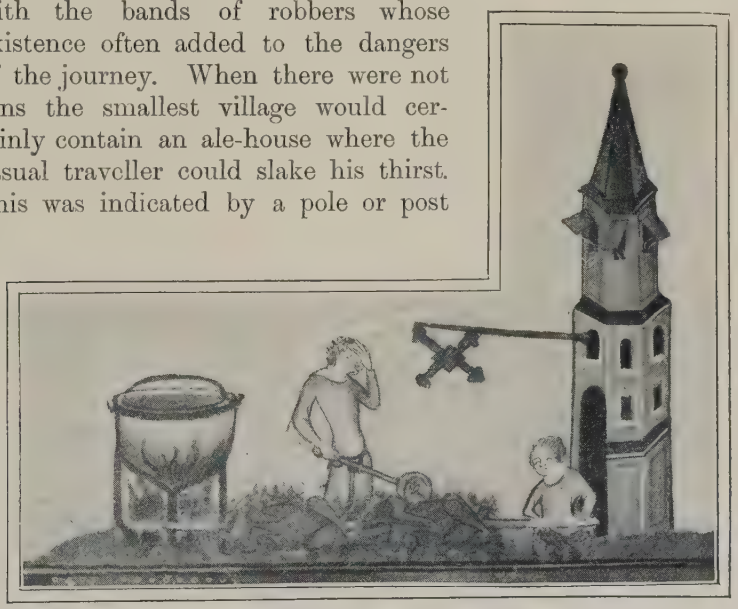
the sanctuary often extended for some distance round a specially favoured Church. Within this boundary felons and malefactors of every kind would assemble, forming a society among themselves, and safe from pursuit so long as they remained. Anyone who became tired of his confined life was at liberty to abjure the kingdom. The coroner exacted an oath from such an one that he would go straight to the nearest port and there avail himself of the first opportunity that offered of embarking for some foreign land. Armed with a little cross and clad in the scantiest of garb he could then leave the sheltering precincts without fear of molestation, though only too often the felon's original instincts proved too strong for the situation and he availed himself of his recovered freedom to return to his old bad ways.

Lodgings for Travellers.

Before we place any more travellers upon the road it may be instructive to learn the kind and amount of accommodation that they met with on their journeys. The king's court was billeted upon the inhabitants of any town through which he passed. The king himself would be received in the neighbouring monastery; so would any great lord who was travelling. The monastery might also be called upon to shelter their retainers. In this case accommodation would be found in the monastic guest-house, which was often built outside the walls of the actual monastery. The monastic guest-house would also be the night refuge of all poor travellers—wandering scholars, pilgrims, and such like. The merchants and all professional travellers would, as a rule, seek accommodation in the inns. These seem to have been numerous if not very luxurious or even always very clean. In the earlier

centuries they were often mere caravanserais where nothing except bare shelter was to be found; the traveller was forced to carry his own food. But in process of time the innkeeper on the main road became a substantial person. There was much going to and fro; a regular service of horses seems to have been established between important towns. The journey of the Warden of Merton College, in 1331, with two of the Fellows and four servants, to visit the northern estates of the College, has often been quoted. Beds for the whole party cost twopence a night. Food for the horses is one-third of the total cost; but inclusive of this the average expenditure of the whole party is half a crown a day, which even in terms of modern money would probably not be an extravagant amount. The travellers were, of course, going along a well-frequented track—the great northern road—and they seem to have found accommodation at regular intervals. It is to be noted that the English Boniface, like his Sicilian representative in comparatively recent times, did not go unsuspected of some kind of understanding with the bands of robbers whose existence often added to the dangers of the journey. When there were not inns the smallest village would certainly contain an ale-house where the casual traveller could slake his thirst. This was indicated by a pole or post

Inns.



COOKING OUTSIDE AN INN.
(MS. 264: *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

called an alestake, from the end of which hung a bunch or bush of ivy—the plant sacred to Bacchus. Hence the proverb that "Good wine needs no bush." Apparently these alehouses were kept ordinarily by women: in contemporary pictures it is invariably a woman who appears at the door, jug in hand: while the ale-wife was notorious for her dishonest dealings. They were for the most part places of bad repute, too often the scenes of the quarrels of drunken peasants and of the revels of all the disreputable characters, male and female, in the neighbourhood. The respectable traveller would quench his thirst and pass on.

Travellers Afoot.

The travellers on foot would be far more numerous than those who journeyed either on horseback or in any kind of conveyance. They would fall roughly into the two classes of lay and religious wayfarers. The lay wanderers may be distinguished as those who supplied people's needs and those who administered to their pleasures. In the former category may be placed the pedlars who thronged the roads, and who, at a time when shops were scarce and buying and selling were limited to the weekly markets and periodical fairs, brought all kinds of wares, both necessary and superfluous, to the very doors of their customers. They supplied the wants, not as now, of a limited class—the farmer's wife in the country, the maidservant in the towns—but of all sections of society alike: they included in their stock substantial articles of clothing, no less than laces and trivial ornaments. Until the middle of the sixteenth century no legislation interfered with their coming and going. Alongside of the pedlars the opinion of the day would lead us to place the itinerant drug-sellers. They may still be found at fairs and in market-places, vending with loud voice and practised assurance their specific remedies for every human ill. Medieval legislation treated them captiously—at one time severely repressing their fraudulent traffic, at another time letting them loose without restraint upon their victims. But the accredited medical

A WAYFARER.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

science of the day was of so empirical a nature, that the encouragement or restraint of these charlatans by those in authority was not likely to have a sensible effect upon the general health of the inhabitants.

A PEDLAR.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

Equally numerous with the pedlars was the large class of strolling players comprehensively described as minstrels or jongleurs, and consisting of musicians, singers, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, and buffoons of all kinds. Before the invention of printing and the spread of literary pursuits long hours of idleness had to be filled somehow. Away from table there were games, both out of doors and in the house; while the company sat at table they were entertained with music and dramatic performances. The absence of sufficient copies, rather than the want of knowledge of how to read, was responsible for the universal presence of the minstrel. If stories could not be read they could be heard from the mouths of those who made it their business to compose them, or at least to recite them from memory. An early distinction seems to have been made between the "scop" (*i.e.* maker) —the bard proper — and the gleeman. The former was the Anglo-Saxon Homer chaunting the old national songs and legends to the accompaniment of his harp. The gleeman played various instruments, sang, danced, and did many feats of skill and strength; but the general tenor of the songs and the coarseness of the buffoonery caused him and his fellows to be reckoned among the disreputable class. On the other hand, both before and after the Norman Conquest, men of noble

A BIRDCAGE SELLER.
(MS. 264: *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

birth did not disdain the accomplishment of minstrelsy, while the trouvères or troubadours of the twelfth century, like the Anglo-Saxon "scops," seem to have been genuine poets and musicians. Moreover, kings and great men had private minstrels, among whom there might be individuals of substance, if not of social position. Even in Domesday a jester of Edward the Confessor is noted as the holder of three vills in Gloucestershire. Again, at a later date, we find the genuine minstrels forming themselves into gilds. The best known of these existed at Beverley, and although the earliest extant copy of its regulations dates only from the reign of Philip and Mary, yet we know it to have been in existence long before the time of Henry VI., when its members gave a pillar to the new church of St. Mary in their native town. There still survive regulations of similar organisations at York, Canterbury, and perhaps Chester. The formation of these gilds only bears witness to the felt need of distinguishing the genuine artists from the common crowd of entertainment providers. In truth, by force of his position the ordinary minstrel was professionally a mere mountebank. He finds his modern counterpart in the troops of so-called "nigger" minstrels who frequent the beach of seaside watering-places.

KING AND JESTER (MS. Roy. 2 B. viii.).

Musical Instruments.

The musical instruments of these performers changed in the course of time. The harp was succeeded by the vielle played with a bow, and thus closely resembling the modern violin. It was susceptible of a good deal of skilful manipulation. But the more common sort of minstrels took refuge in the tambourine, which demanded little or no skill. Of other medieval instruments the lavish illustration afforded by the Minstrels' Gallery in Exeter Cathedral gains little except confirmation from such sources as illustrated manuscripts and the capitals and bosses in churches and cathedrals.

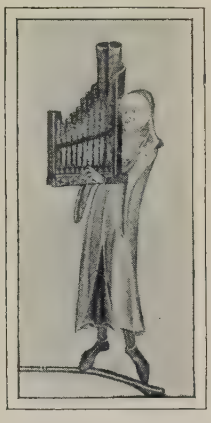
Hurdy-Gurdy.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

Stilt Act (MS. Roy. 14 B. v.).

Cymbal Player.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

Bagpiper.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

A Troop of Jugglers (MS. Add. 24,686).



Regal-Player.
(*Luttrell Psalter.*)

Performing Monkey. (*Luttrell Psalter.*)

Performing Horse (MS. Bodl. 264).

STROLLING PLAYERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

The most commonly used instruments seem to have been the bagpipe, the tabor, the double pipe, the horn or trumpet, and the shawm or psaltery. Many of these the real trouvère regarded as of an undignified character, for they were easy to learn, and capable of little development, and were used as the accompaniment of degrading performances. The vocal part of a musical entertainment took one of two complexions. The genuine bard or troubadour recited or, rather

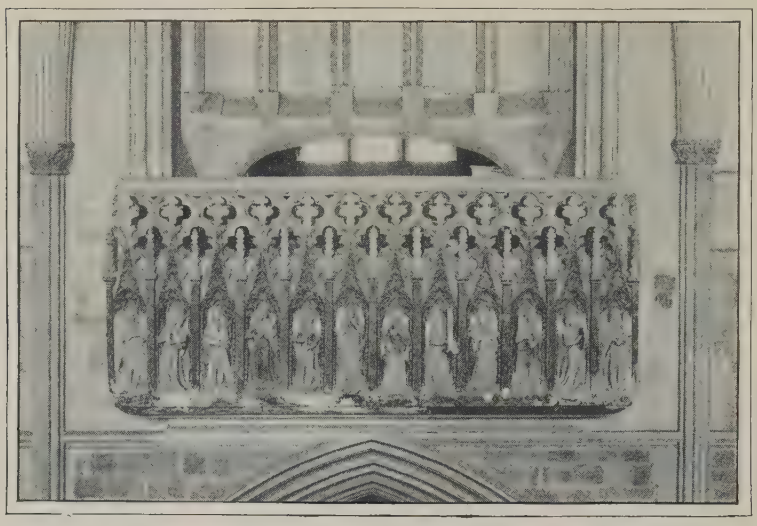


Photo: N. M. Dodson, Bettws-y-Coed.

THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY, EXETER CATHEDRAL.

perhaps, chaunted versified romances embodying the exploits of the heroes of the race. These were often real epic poems of considerable merit. After the Norman Conquest they were naturally composed in French, the language of the court and the noble class; but as their audience became practically bilingual these romances of Norman origin were translated into English, or adapted for those who could not comfortably follow them in the original tongue. But in the course of time constant repetition made these old romances stale; new details were added, increasingly complicated adventures and ingenious escapes from impossible situations were invented. The old epics lost all poetry and all meaning.

Provided they were written in an easy metre at the necessary length, and filled with sufficiently impossible adventures, they satisfied the demand of their limited audience. Chaucer's "Rime of Sir Thopas" is so little of a caricature that it may be taken as sufficiently typical of the products of contemporary minstrels. And yet he represents his pilgrims, through the mouth of the host, as resenting his attempt to palm off such a tale upon them, and refusing to let him continue the jingling, meaningless stanzas. Chaucer's own works did something to supply the place of the moribund heroic romance with tales of ordinary life. The song of the ordinary minstrel was the popular or satirical ballad, sometimes commemorating the adventures of some local hero, often a mere fugitive satire on the political situation or social follies of the moment. For, the minstrel was a man of the people, living a free life himself, and in some sort privileged to utter thoughts which would be dangerous in the mouths of other men—he was, in fact, a licensed jester. Latin and English ballads form quite an important class of literature in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages, and the minstrels must share with the mendicant orders the responsibility of spreading the excitement which often ended in a popular rising. Nor did they hesitate to chaunt these revolutionary lays in the halls of the nobles, who, like the aristocratic class before and since, good naturedly tolerated in song, and even professed to approve the expression of ideas which, if carried into action, would have undermined their whole social position. And as the minstrels were employed to spread political revolt, so they formed useful agents for the collection of private information. They entered every hall, they stopped at every inn, and even every tavern, they frequented every fair; the presence of a band of minstrels was considered indispensable for every function, whether public or private. No question was asked of a wandering player, except what he could do to amuse the company. Hence the credibility of such stories as those of the visits of Alfred and Athelstan to the Danish camps in disguise, of which parallels are to be found in the French romances of the troubadours. Hence the part which the minstrel played as a go-between in intrigues of all kinds, and versatile as was his art, the rewards

which fell to him were by no means always the guerdon of his performances.

Dancing.

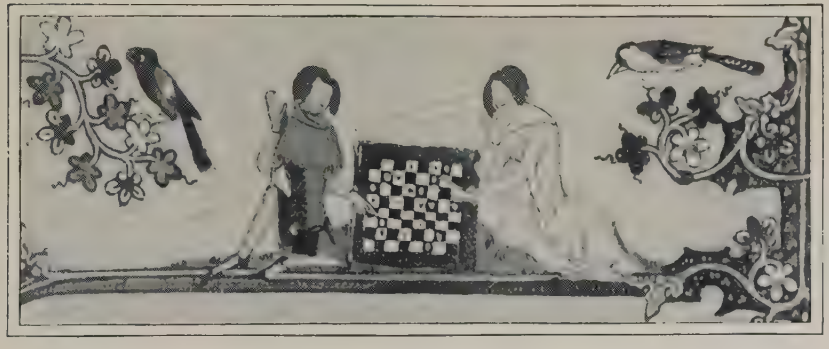
For, singing and playing on instruments were merely part of the jongleur's accomplishments. As the Anglo-Saxon "scop" seems to have been absorbed in the more common gleeman, so the troubadours became gradually indistinguishable from the mountebanks of all kinds who ministered to the multitude. To judge from extant illustrations, the Anglo-Saxon gleeman danced as well as sang, and it did not need the contact with the East, to which some authors have attributed it, to introduce dancing women in the minstrel

DAUGHTER OF HERODIAS DANCING (MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.).

bands. Their dances were not the quiet domestic "carole" in which those of gentle birth sometimes engaged. The object of the professionals seems to have been rather to excite mirth and, possibly, some admiration by the extravagance, if not the positive indecency, of their movements. Closely allied to their dancing was the tumbling of these mountebanks. The style of this may perhaps be judged from a medieval illustration whose comparatively frequent reproduction in extant manuscripts may entitle us to regard it as typical. The daughter of Herodias when dancing before Herod appears in a long garment indeed, but with head downwards, her feet poised in the air, and her hands resting sometimes on the ground, sometimes on the points of two

Merelles.

Bowls.



Chess.

(MS. 264: *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

"LONG HOURS OF IDLENESS HAD TO BE FILLED SOMEHOW."

swords stuck upright in the earth. With such performances were associated feats of juggling—the tossing and catching again of several knives or balls in quick succession, which is often depicted in early manuscripts. Along with such fry would go the keepers of performing bears and other captive animals, and lastly, the mere buffoon, who was appreciated in proportion to the coarse indecency and absence of all restraint in word or gesture.

This is not a pleasing picture of the things in which our forefathers took delight. But even exhibitions such as would not now be tolerated in public-houses or dancing saloons of the lowest type, may not have been altogether without a civilising influence. A violent and even sanguinary ending to a dinner-party was by no means unknown, and the soothing effects of music and song and the diverting games of tumblers and buffoons would help to keep the spectators from quarrelling over their cups. In its origin and development the song descriptive of heroic themes was intimately associated with the public feast of the chief, his friends, and retainers. The gradual displacement of the hall as the centre of social life, and the withdrawal of the lord and his friends into a separate room, did not abolish the need of the minstrel, but, by giving him a more select audience, it must have restrained his grossest performances. Meanwhile, the invention of printing and the spread of literary taste made the comfortable classes less dependent on constant amusement at the hands of others; while the rise of the modern English drama ministered to a passion that, apart from the efforts of the minstrels, had only found satisfaction in the intermittent performances of the miracle plays.

Friars, Pilgrims Palmers.

Even more numerous than lay wayfarers were wandering ecclesiastics. The collapse of the Peasant Revolt of 1381 was followed by the enactment of severe measures against those classes who had used their professional mendicancy as a means of helping on the movement. On the one hand, these were the beggars and wandering labourers who were dealt with in the first Poor Law in English history: but alongside of them a series of statutes placed preachers wandering from place to place without any ecclesiastical licence, pilgrims who went unfurnished with the royal leave, and all hermits who

could not produce letters testimonial from the Ordinary. All such were to be summarily imprisoned as vagabonds and preachers of sedition. But there were other classes of ecclesiastical wanderers every whit as mischievous as those mentioned in the Acts of Parliament, but protected against legislative interference by the supposed sacred character of their duties. Thus the friars might be touched by the Act against wandering preachers; but the use they made of their freedom from ecclesiastical restraint to undermine the family and parochial life of the country could not be dealt with by the legislature. Again, even those in authority in the Church grew ashamed of the pardoners, but the hostile resolutions of synods against their malpractices, and even the thunders of a Papal bull, could not outweigh the superstitious feelings of the age and the accepted ecclesiastical theories which gave rise to the calling of the pardoner. Each of these sections of vagrant ecclesiastics deserves separate treatment.

Hermits.

The hermits may be dismissed in a few words. They were not wayfarers, but dwellers on the road. The inhabitant of the woods and solitary places was a being of a bygone age. Robert, or Richard Rolle of Hampole was an exception whose fame does not seem to have produced imitators. The cottages of hermits in the fourteenth century were to be found along the most frequented roads, and the inmates lived upon the alms of the passers-by. There was nothing religious about such mendicants except their garb. Langland pictures them as drunken, thievish rascals who had been turned from honest trades by the success of the lazy friars. Episcopal regulations seem to have been powerless to check their growth.

Friars.

Langland's condemnation also descends upon the friars, who alone among the clergy retained some share of the popular good will. Chaucer is no less severe. The monks, of course, hated them, and monastic chroniclers are only more severe than Langland in attributing complicity in the Peasant Revolt to the friars. Wycliffe's poor preachers are generally regarded as the worst enemies of the friars, but the two bodies seem to have been equally energetic in the propagandist work which spread the news of the intended insurrection. The whole order of the friars is scarcely likely to have been so black as it was painted by its

numerous and virulent opponents; but there was a very substantial amount of truth underlying the satire of poets and story-tellers and the denunciations of such involuntary allies as Wycliffe and the monks. The monstrous iniquities of the friars, as of any other body of traditional sanctity, could always be explained on the principle of *corruptio optimi pessima*. "However contemptible the man," says a recent writer, "one could never be certain that he had not the keys of heaven, and respect mingled with fear in the sentiment towards him." Not that the friars went personally unmolested. In 1346 the Commons in Parliament demanded the expulsion of all alien friars, whose numbers alarmed them as a danger to the State. In 1385 a royal proclamation was necessary to protect the preaching friars whose "proud behaviour" had brought on them persecution in London and elsewhere. The friars were condemned officially by councils and synods, and unofficially by preachers and writers. But they made themselves both felt and feared. Though everyone had a grievance against them, yet they were to be found everywhere. Langland sketches them as the confessors of great men. Chaucer's friar added the business of a pedlar to his ecclesiastical ministrations:—

"His typet was ay farsud ful of knyfes
And pynnes, for to give faire wyfes." [1]

A caustic song of the end of the fourteenth century tells us in more detail that not only do

"Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,
With gyrdles, gloves for wenches and wives,"

but that their packs contain materials for dresses and robes of all kinds:

"Some frers beren pelure (*a*) aboute,
For grete ladys and wenches stoute.
* * * * *
For some vaire (*a*), and some gryse (*b*),
For some bugee (*b*), and for some byse (*c*),
And also many a dyvers spyse
In bagges about thai bere." [2]
a, fur; *b*, cloth; *c*, silk.

[1] Prologue to the "Canterbury Tales."

[2] T. Wright, "Political Songs and Poems" (Rolls Series), I., 264-5. The whole song is well worth reading, as a contemporary (unfavourable) opinion of the friars.

This and other songs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries represent the friars as entering houses and cottages at any hour, eating and drinking of the best, while, however great might be his wish, the master of the house would not dare to turn them out. But more important than pedlars was the function which the friars performed as the news-carriers of the day. Curiosity would often get the better even of caution begotten of past experience, and to the inhabitants of out-of-the-way country districts the visit of a traveller and a man of the world was an excitement for which they would be willing to risk much peace of mind. Spiritually the

PRIEST, WITH PARDON. BEGGAR. PALMER. HERMIT.
(MS. Douce 104: *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*) (*Luttrell Psalter.*)

friars had an immense power at their disposal. Their irresponsibility to episcopal control enabled them to step in between the parish priest and the individual members of his flock in so important a means of influence as confession. Even more potent was their device of "letters of fraternity." By these they professed, in return for money, to pass on to credulous and pious souls a share in the surplus merits laid up through their prayers to the heavenly account of their Order. "By such reasons," says Wycliffe scornfully, "think many men that these letters may do good for to cover mustard pots."[1] But this was a piece of pure rationalism which would appeal only to a limited number even among the educated. Nor, finally, was the political influence of the friars to be despised. We have noticed the share attributed

[1] Select English Works, I., p. 381.

to them in the spread of the Peasant Revolt. It is equally significant to mark the trouble which they gave to Henry IV. for some time after his accession by their popularisation of the belief that Richard II. was still alive.

Pardoners.

The friars took upon themselves to distribute the surplus merits of their Order. Their work in this respect was a small matter compared to that of the pardoners, whose entire business it was to dispense the surplus merits of the whole Church. The discipline of the early Church was carried out by the infliction of penances for spiritual offences. In course of time these penances, which often extended over long periods, came to be exchanged for a severe punishment of shorter duration. Such commutations were granted by way of indulgence. They were reduced to tariffs, of which one of the earliest and best known was the "Penitential" of our own Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (690). Under this system a fast of so many years' duration could be commuted by a certain number of lashes, or the recitation of a fixed quantity of psalms. With laymen the commutation took the form of money, which was applied to such religious, or semi-religious, purposes as the building of churches or bridges. But this practice of commutation was gradually replaced by the theory of the "Treasury of merits." As the system became universal these indulgences could not be regarded as mere substitution of one kind of penance for another; they were a composition rather than a strict commutation. But the composition became so utterly disproportionate to the original offence that justice seemed to demand that the deficit should somehow be made up. This was supplied by the transference to the sinner of the surplus merits of Christ and the Saints. This superabundance says a Papal bull of 1350, has been gathered into a treasury, the key of which has been entrusted to St. Peter and his successors. For the better distribution of the contents of this hoard officials were appointed, who were called sometimes Quæstors, because they demanded worldly wealth in return for the gifts of which they disposed; sometimes Pardoners, because they were the agents of God's remission of sins. This traffic in the Church's power of absolution lent itself to enormous abuse; the country was flooded with ecclesiastics, whether secular priests or friars, tramping

up and down without any licence, pretending to sell pardons, and exhibiting as their credentials all kinds of curious relics. Chaucer's description of a "gentil pardoner . . . . that streyt was comen from the court of Rome," and the Pardoner's own account of himself in the tale allotted to him, are amply borne out by notices which, whether official or merely satirical, are yet equally condemnatory. The gain of Chaucer's Pardoner was a hundred marks a year; this would have made the trade attractive, for the money would generally go into the pockets of the impostor himself. Sheer brazen-faced impudence carried him along his successful career. Chaucer makes his Pardoner end a tale with a calm attempt to foist pardons and relics upon his fellow pilgrims. In order to further their traffic the licensed pardoners sometimes formed associations, and employed inferior agents. If they were interfered with by an intrepid parish priest who demanded to see their licence, or refused to let them preach in his church, they would sue him before some distant ecclesiastical judge, and would make themselves far more troublesome to him than their original interference with him would have been. The relics which they exhibited were intended to impress simple people with an idea of their sanctity as pilgrims. Like the wandering friars, they were men of resourceful wit and ready anecdote, and displayed in the spiritual sphere all the qualities of the successful quack who dealt in charms and patent medicines.

Pedlars and minstrels, friars and pardoners were members of fairly definite classes of society. But anyone from the prince to the peasant might form one of the great company of pilgrims who unceasingly thronged the roads and even crossed the Channel. Pilgrimages—that is, journeys to places of reputed sanctity, in order to discharge a vow or to gain an answer to prayer—are among the manifestations common to all the great religions of the world. Christian pilgrimages began in visits to the scenes of Our Lord's earthly life. But the distance and the danger confined such journeys to the idle or the wealthy. Piety found some parallel in the tombs of distinguished martyrs and confessors. The chief of these was, of course, the tombs of SS. Peter and Paul at Rome, which proved a most powerful attraction to the great

Pilgrims.

capital of Western Europe. No less attractive were the legendary shrines, the sites of some alleged vision, of the supernatural discovery of some hidden relic, or of the presence of a wonder-working image or picture. For English people the most important of such places were the shrine of St. James at Compostella in Spain, and, at home, those of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury, and of Our Lady at Walsingham. These last were the English shrines which enjoyed something more than a local reputation. There were many others on this side of the Channel which were frequently visited—the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, at Westminster; of St. Cuthbert, at Durham; of St. Alban; St. Edmund, at Bury; and St. David; while an attraction of a different kind was found in the holy thorn tree planted by Joseph of Arimathæa at Glastonbury (Vol. I., p. 115).

The pilgrimage to Canterbury has been immortalised by Chaucer. But scarcely less celebrated was that to the shrine of the Virgin at Walsingham. This was situated in a monastery of Augustinian Canons some twenty-seven miles distant from Norwich, and contained a miraculous statue of the Virgin, and a phial of her milk. The road to sites of pilgrimage was lined with chapels; the approach to Walsingham was known as the "Palmers' Way." The towns of pilgrimage were themselves a mass of inns and churches; many of them contained hostels for poor pilgrims, which were supported by local gilds. There was much encouragement to go on pilgrimage. Besides the benefits promised by the Church pilgrims were freed from toll, and their persons were inviolable, so that anyone injuring them was excommunicate. Moreover, they obtained shelter and sometimes food free of cost along the road, and those who were members of a gild were helped to a distant journey by the contributions of their fellow gildsmen. On arrival at their goal pilgrims put up at one of the numerous hostelries, or were taken in at some guest-house provided by charity; they visited the shrine, made their offerings and prayers, and, before departing, bought one of the little perforated pewter medals, which could be sewn on the hat or dress as a sign of the pilgrimage performed. For each shrine had its own peculiar form of token; from Canterbury the pilgrims would carry

away a bottle or bell with the image of St. Thomas stamped upon it, while a shell was the mark of a visit to Compostella. The professional pilgrim—the palmer—who wandered from shrine to shrine, wore a peculiar garb and hat, and carried a scrip for his food and a bottle. Moreover, the staff in his hand and the little medals which

CHAPEL AT HOUGHTON, NORFOLK, ON THE ROAD TO WALSINGHAM.
(*From a photograph by the Rev. W. Martin.*)

studded his clothes proclaimed his profession and marked his assiduity.

But as pilgrimages became part of the penitential discipline of the Church they were undertaken by all kinds of people, with all manner of ulterior motives. "Some," says an author already quoted, "went like gypsies to a fair, to gather money; some went for the pleasures of the journey and the merriments of the road." This combination of pleasure with business commended pilgrimages as forms of penance to the amateur, and their continuance as an occupation was encouraged because, like friars and pardoners, and, indeed, like all travellers living by their wits, pilgrims were men of the world, news-bringers, and retailers of the

marvellous. But it was just this qualification that excited the wrath of reformers. Langland scornfully remarks that

> Pilgrims and palmers ply them together
> To seek Saint James and saints of Rome,
> Went forth in their way with many unwise tales,
> And have leave to lie all their lifetime.

Relics.

Among the most wonderful sights of which the pilgrims would have to tell would be the relics offered to their view at the various shrines. Nor would it be impossible for them to acquire relics of considerable interest, which to the devout would be irrefutable proofs of the sincerity, if not of the sanctity, of the pilgrims themselves. We need not go to contemporary satirists to appreciate the marvellous credulity of the Middle Ages. Certainly it is Boccaccio whose Frate Cipolla produces "one of the Angel Gabriel's feathers which remained in the Virgin Mary's chamber, whenas he came to announce to her in Nazareth." Similarly the pardoner in an old French farce offers to show "the comb of the cock that sung at Pilate's." But the relics known to history are quite as farcical. To Exeter Athelstan gave, among a large number of other treasures, such deeply interesting memorials as a piece of the candle which the angel of the Lord lit in the tomb of Christ, a portion of the burning bush whence God spoke to Moses, and one of the stones which slew St. Stephen. Medieval law punished with death thefts of even a trifling amount, but such was the inherent efficacy which was supposed to reside with genuine relics that their fraudulent removal, even by members of one religious house from those of another, was considered not only a condonable but almost a praiseworthy act. Even the losers dwelt not on the act of theft but on the danger which they suffered from the loss of a valuable fetish or talisman. Nor was it only satirists, whether rationalist poets or religious reformers, who scented mischief in indiscriminate pilgrimages. They were also at times a political danger. Thus, Edward II.'s cousin and rival, Earl Thomas of Lancaster, was considered a popular martyr, and after his execution in 1322 the pilgrimages to his tomb were intended as a political demonstration against the king. The crowds who shipped from English ports to visit Compostella might easily include spies from foreign courts. Hence the act of

PILGRIMS' SIGNS (*Guildhall Museum*).

(*By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.*)

Richard II. which enforced the necessity of licences and passports for all would-be pilgrims.

The Social Value of Pilgrimage.

Historically speaking, the indirect use of pilgrimages surpasses the various uses to which they were deliberately turned. The coming and going of considerable crowds between different parts of the country and from one side of the Channel to the other was a great instrument in the process of civilisation. It drew together different classes and so helped on the growth of national sentiment. It broke down the provincialism of speech and thought which comes of isolated life. It spread the news: it gave a holiday and fresh air, and change of life and scene. Finally, it introduced the pilgrim to foreign lands and so helped on the growth of commerce. Neither the frank cynicism of Chaucer's elaborate picture nor the biting satire of the wailing Langland had the least effect in checking the constant stream of pilgrims. Nor, a century later, would the scathing sarcasms of Erasmus have borne more abundant fruit, had not many other things already contributed to the disuse of the machinery of the medieval Church.

AUTHORITIES, 1348-1399.

(*a*) GENERAL HISTORY.

The contemporary authorities are the *St. Alban's Chronicle* (as in Chap. V.) and the *Evesham Chronicle*; Knighton and Walsingham, both living under Richard II.; the French *Cronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux*, the *Chronicon* of Adam of Usk, the *Annales Ricardi* and Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, Gower's Poems, the *Political Songs* (Wright's ed. and Rolls Series), the *Rolls of Parliament*. To the modern authorities, as given at the end of Chap. V., may be added: Gairdner, *Houses of Lancaster and York*; and for Wycliffe and the Lollards, the preface to *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (Rolls Series); G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (1899), and *The Peasant Rising and the Lollards*, and a good account of Richard II.'s reign in Lingard, *History of England*.

(*b*) SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Religion.—The standard life of Wycliffe is still that published at Leipzig by Gotthard Lechler; but the English translation, which has appeared in three separate issues, is neither complete nor altogether satisfactory, and in its last edition (1884) has suffered a number of changes which remove it still further from the original. Among English lives that by Mr. F. D. Matthew, prefixed to his edition of Wycliffe's *English Works hitherto unprinted* (1880), deserves special mention; and the writer of the section dealing with Wycliffe in the present chapter, while his statements and opinions are based upon a study of Wycliffe's works and the records of contemporary witnesses, has made free use of his own sketch of *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform* (1889). The student will be rewarded by much of interest on the subject in W. W. Shirley's preface to the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (1859), though it requires correction in the light of more recent investigation. For Wycliffe's connection with politics no sounder guide exists than Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, XVI. and XIX.

Law, Warfare, Naval Matters, Architecture, and Art.—As in Chap. V.

History of Universities and Schools.—The works referred to at the end of Chap. V., especially Maxwell-Lyte's *Oxford* and Clark and Willis's *Cambridge;* T. E. Kirby, *Winchester College;* Moberley, *William of Wykeham;* the (unedited) *Compotus Rolls of Durham College;* Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library;* volumes in the series of *College Histories* published by F. E. Robinson; articles in Dict. of Nat. Biography, especially on "Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester."

Medicine and Public Health.—Father Gasquet's *Great Pestilence* (1894) deals fully with the Black Death. Other authorities as for Chap. V. *See also* Jessopp, *The Black Death in East Anglia*, "Nineteenth Century," Vols. XVI., XVII.

Literature.—B. ten Brink, *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, Bd. 1 and 2 (Berlin and Strassburg, 1877–93); Alois Brandl, *Gesch. d. mittelengl. Litteratur*, in Paul's *Grundriss*, II. 1 (Strassburg, 1889); *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl.* 2253, ed. Böddeker (Berlin, 1878); *Political Songs*, ed. T. Wright (Rolls Series); *Political Songs of England from John to Edward II.*, ed. and trans. by T. Wright (Camden Soc., 1839); William of Shoreham's *Religious Poems*, ed. T. Wright (Percy Soc., Vol. xxviii.); *Pearl*, ed. and trans. I. Gollancz (D. Nutt, 1891); *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* (*circ.* 1360), ed. R. Morris (Early Engl. Text Soc., 1864); Chaucer's *Poetical Works*, ed. R. Morris (Aldine Poets, 1886); Chaucer, *Prologue, Knight's Tale*, and *Nun's Priest's Tale*, ed. Morris and Skeat; Chaucer, *Man of Lawe's Tale, Prioresses' Tale, Minor Poems*, ed. Skeat (Clarendon Press); Kluge, *Gesch. d. Engl. Sprache*, in Paul's *Grundriss*, Bd. I., Lief. 5 (Strassburg, 1891); Ten Brink, *Chaucer; Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwickelung*, etc. (Munster, 1870); Ten Brink, Chaucer's *Sprache und Verskunst* (Leipzig, 1884); Morsbach, *Ueber den Ursprung der N.-E. Schriftsprache* (Heilbronn, 1888); Dict. Nat. Biography, "Chaucer" (Prof. J. W. Hales). The critical edition of Chaucer's works, with Life, etc., by Prof. W. W. Skeat (6 vols., Clarendon Press) is now the standard edition of the poet. Wycliffe, *Works*, ed. by T. Arnold, 3 vols., Oxford, 1869–71; *English Works of Wiclif hitherto unprinted*, ed. F. D. Matthew (E.E.T.S., 1880); Wycliffe's *Latin Works*, ed. Buddensieg, Loserth, R. L. Poole, and others (Wyclif Soc., at present 17 vols., 1883-93); Morley's *English Writers*, Vols. IV.–VI.; Buddensieg, *Johann Wiclif u. Seine Zeit* (Gotha, 1885); Lechler, *John Wickliffe and his English Precursors* (*see* above); E. Gasner, *Beiträge zum Entwickelungsgang der neuenglischen Schriftsprache auf Grund der mittelenglischen Bibelversionen* (1891); Langland, *Works*, ed. Skeat (Clarendon Press); Jusserand, *Le Paysan Anglais au Moyen-Age et la Poème Mystique de Langland* (Paris, 1893); *Observations sur la Vision de Piers Plowman* (Paris, 1879); J. W. Hales, "Langland" (in Dict. of Nat. Biography); R. Kron, *William Langley's Buch von Peter dem Pflüger, Untersuchungen*, etc. (Göttingen, 1885); Rosenthal, *Langland's Metrik* (in "Anglia," I., 414); *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede and God Spede the Plough*, ed. Skeat (E.E.T.S., 1867). Gower, *Balades and other Poems*, Roxburgh Club, 1818; *Minnesang*, etc., ed. Stengel, *Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen . . . der Romanischen Philologie*, No. LXIV., 1882; *Vox Clamantis necnon Chronica Tripartita*, ed. Coxe, Roxburgh Club, 1850; *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Pauli (3 vols. London, 1857); K. Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen zu Chaucer*, etc. (Bonn, 1889); S. Lee, art. "Gower," in Dict. of Nat. Biography.

Agriculture.—Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices* and *Six Centuries of Work and Wages;* Ashley, *Economic History;* Nasse, *Zur Geschichte der Mittelalterliche Feld-Gemeinschaft in England;* Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England;* Maitland, *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts* (Selden Soc.); Seebohm, *English Village Community;* Gomme, *Village Community.*

Industry and Commerce, 1349-1485.—For the commercial history in detail it is necessary to consult Rymer's *Foedera*, the Rolls of Parliament, and the Statutes of the Realm. Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, in addition to rather inaccurate abstracts of Rymer and other authorities, contains many useful details; and Thorold Rogers's *Agriculture and Prices*, with its exhaustive records of the prices of English

and foreign commodities, is indispensable. *Die Hanserecesse*, ed. by Koppman, is a mine of information on the commercial relations between England and the Hanse towns. Ochenkowski's *Englands Wirthschaftliche Entwickelung im Ausgange des Mittelalters* and Gross's *Gild Merchant* are the most useful works on the Staple; and Cunningham's *Growth of Industry and Commerce* gives a good general view of English commerce in the fourteenth century. *See also* Ashley, *History of the Woollen Trade*, and, in general, Ashley's *Economic History*. Many of the *data* are only to be found in various county histories and local records.

Town Life.—Merewether and Stephens, *History of Municipal Corporations; Liber Albus of London* (ed. Riley); Mrs. J. R. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century;* Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom;* Burrows, *Cinque Ports;* Historic Towns Series; Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages;* Pauli, *Bilder aus Alt-England;* Loftie, *History of London*. *See also* Stubbs, *Constitutional History;* Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce;* Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages;* Maitland, *Township and Borough*.

Social Life.—Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (revised by W. Hone, 1838); Jusserand, *Les Anglais au Moyen Age* and *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages;* Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages;* A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature;* Katharine L. Bates, *The English Religious Drama;* A. W. Pollard, *The Miracle Plays*.

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